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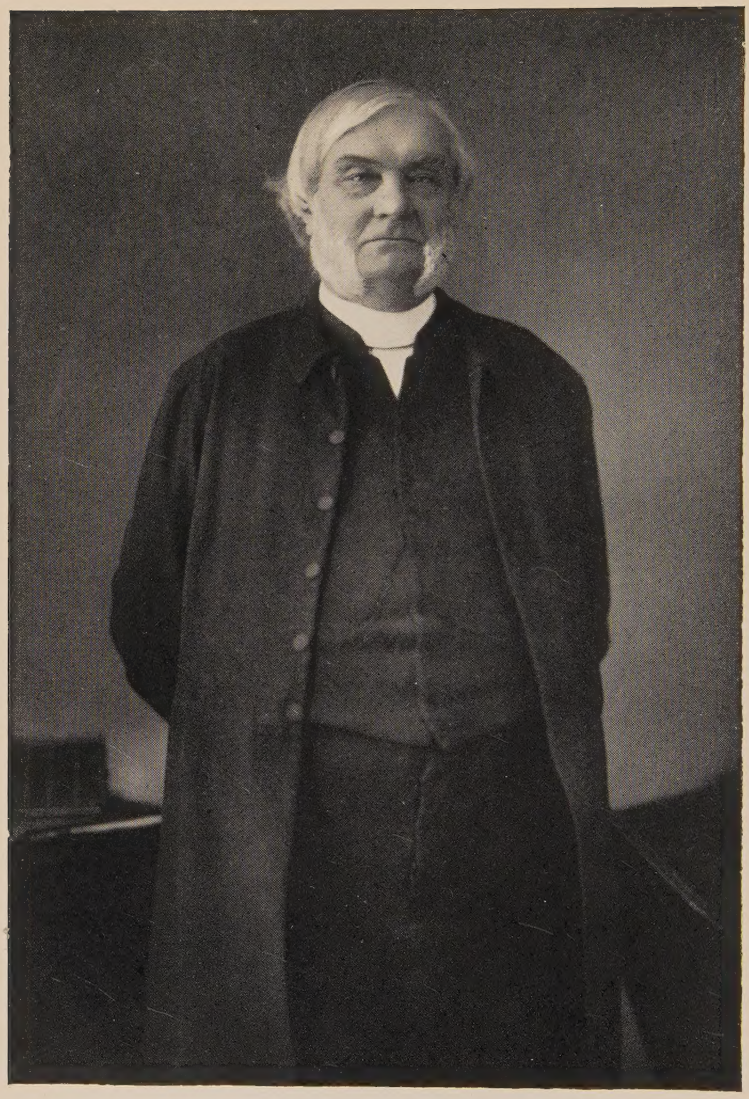
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT GREGORY



Robt Gregory

ROBERT GREGORY

1819–1911

BEING THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT GREGORY, D.D. DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S

PREPARED FOR THE PRESS, WITH NOTES, BY

W. H. HUTTON, B.D.

ARCHDEACON OF NORTHAMPTON, CANON OF PETERBOROUGH AND FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFATORY NOTE

It was my privilege to read, with great zest, the autobiography of Dr. Gregory while he was still alive; and he had often talked with me about many of the incidents in it. In preparing it for the press, I have been guided at every point and instructed in every difficulty by his daughters who were with him to the end of his life. The book is not only his but theirs: it is in no way mine, but that I have had the happiness of helping to give notes and illustrative matter that seemed necessary, and to collect into a final chapter some memories of the Dean by his friends. To every one whose name is associated in it with reminiscence I owe the most grateful thanks: the reader will know them to be due, page by page. I should like also especially to thank the Right Hon. Sir William R. Anson, Bart., M.P., for advice on a particular point, the Rev. R. S. Gregory for several notes, and the Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester for permission to quote freely from his paper on his uncle.

W. H. H.

Ascension Day 1912.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT GREGORY

SOMETIME DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S

CHAPTER I

BOYHOOD AND OXFORD, 1819–1843

At the request of friends, I am about to note down a few particulars of my life. Probably no one will think it worth while to publish them, and with that opinion I should perfectly agree, as I do not feel that I have taken that leading part or occupied such a prominent position as to so place my name before the world; nor do I expect that more than a few friends will miss me when my Heavenly Father calls me hence. But I have had a long life, and been conversant with some matters that have affected the life and well-being of the Church, and been mixed up with some events of importance, of which some few persons who have known me may like to be reminded.

Robert Gregory, Dean of St. Paul's, was born at Nottingham, on February 9, 1819. His father,

also Robert, was born at Nottingham, November 27, 1793, and died before he had completed his thirty-first year. His mother, Anne Sophia Oldknow, also of Nottingham birth, was born on March 16, 1789, and died a few months before her husband. Her father was twice Mayor of the city, and her brother filled the same office just before her death. A memoir of both of them was written by Dr. Hannah, a Wesleyan minister, whose son married the elder Robert Gregory's daughter. The family was one of active successful traders, with a strong sense of duty.

The strength of character, which seems to have been a family inheritance, is illustrated by the story which the Rev. R. S. Gregory remembers from the lips of his father. The Dean's grandfather, "who commenced the fortunes of the family, invented the application of bones, when ground in some particular way, as a manure: he was too poor to afford to pay for a seat in the coach, so he walked all the way from Nottingham to London, to see the Home Secretary and get a patent. The reason for doing this was because all his letters to the Patent Office had been ignored: so he went to London, to see the Home Secretary, and knocked, and asked to see him. The footman said 'Not at home,' but he pushed his way in, and said he was not going to leave until he had seen him: ultimately he did see him, got the promise of a favourable reception for his patent, and then walked back—124 miles." With the money he got he bought some vacant land, and on that land were afterwards built some model cottages, of

which the Dean writes later. I may add another note, from the Dean of Chichester's paper on "The lighter side of a great Churchman's character," before I resume Dr. Gregory's own record:—

"His infancy and boyhood were spent at Nottingham, where he lost both his parents at a very early age. Considering he himself survived till his ninety-third year, it is interesting to recall the fact that his father died before he was thirty-one, and his mother at about the same age, so that he was actually in unbroken possession of what landed property he had for a period only a decade short of a century. On the occasion of the death of his grandfather, which occurred just before that of his father, he was a little chap of two or three years old. According to the custom of those days, he was invested for the occasion in an ungainly cloak provided by the undertaker. With this he was vastly pleased, and went dancing about, shouting, 'I'm to be a mourner, I'm to be a mourner,' when some one amongst his elders, judging such conduct to be unseemly, caught him a sound box on the ear, which he has often told me 'made him a mourner indeed.'"

My father and mother died in 1825 when I was five years old. I and my three sisters were left under the charge of an unmarried sister of my mother, who was one of the most excellent of women, but had not the slightest idea of how to educate a boy. Afraid of the evil influences of

public schools, of which she had heard some exaggerated accounts, she sent me to second-rate private schools, where I learned but little. When I was sixteen, in 1836, I was apprenticed for five years to Messrs. Sands, Turner & Co., American merchants at Liverpool. With my work there I was greatly interested, and before the completion of the term for which I was indentured, I had risen to a principal place in the office. My father had been a leading member of the Wesleyan Methodists at Nottingham, and until I went to Liverpool and for the portion of the time when I was there I attended the Methodist Chapel. But I never could accept what seemed to me the prominent doctrine of their teaching. That it should suffice to change one's position in God's sight, to believe that Jesus Christ had died for me, and that, upon the hearty acceptance of that belief, I should no longer be a child of wrath, but have become an accepted child of God, seemed altogether inconsistent with what Christ had wrought for the salvation of mankind. If a change of mind was all that was needed to make me a partaker of the salvation Christ had purchased for mankind, why should not a change of mind on God's part have sufficed to secure what was needed by man? Analogy seemed to me to contradict what was

taught, and though I made efforts to become religious on the basis which was set before me, reason and conscience rejected it; I felt there was no foundation on which to build.

Happily for me the Oxford Tracts were then in course of being published,[1] and were arousing much public attention. In them I found what I wanted. From them I learned what the Son of God had done for man; and how man was to be made partaker of the blessings He had purchased for him, and how man was to be enabled to die unto sin and to live unto God. With little or no external teaching but what was derived from the Oxford Tracts, I became a Churchman. I had been baptized at St. Mary's Church, Nottingham, when I was a few days old, and I now learned from the Oxford Tracts for the first time what my baptism was to me and what it had done for me.

Before leaving this part of my life, there are two events which I should mention. When I was about nine or ten years old I fished frequently in the canal, in a boat belonging to my uncle. One day I fell overboard and was pulled out insensible, having passed through a stage when I felt as if I were going to sleep on the softest bed of down. The other event was when I was a little

[1] 1833–1841.

more than sixteen. Returning from Liverpool for a short holiday, I made arrangements with two friends to accompany them to Heage, in Derbyshire, for a day's shooting. On the night before the expedition I dreamt that as I was walking to my friend's house, from whence we were to start, I saw some boys playing with a ball; the ball struck me, and I remonstrated with them on their rudeness. The scene then changed, and I found myself in a field where one of our party was lying on his back dying, with a pocket handkerchief over his face so that I could not distinguish who it was. Next morning all happened as I had dreamed. The boys were playing at ball, the ball struck me: I remonstrated, and they gave me the same answer as in my dream; so that during the morning, as we were driving to Heage, I was oppressed with the thought of my dream, but it seemed too cowardly to turn back for what was only a dream. At breakfast our host cautioned us that we should find the birds very wild, as they had been cub-hunting over the land the day before. We had not proceeded far when some birds got up; one of my friends cocked his gun, but found the birds too far off for him to fire. He saw them light in the next field, ran up a bank with a hedge at the top to see where they would

settle, got his gun entangled in the hedge, a twig pulled the trigger as he turned round to return, and the whole discharge went through his body, and would have gone through my head if it had missed him. I came at once to his side, bound up the wound as well as I could, and then, leaving him in the care of his brother, I rode off to fetch a doctor and to tell his mother. Where he fell he died about three or four hours after.

Times have so much changed that it may be worth while to record that in my boyhood I saw two sights which have happily long since not been seen in England, and which we are apt to imagine have been unknown here for a much longer time. The first was the body of a murderer hanging in chains on the spot where he had been executed. It was in Sherwood Forest, between Nottingham and Mansfield, where his crime had been committed and the penalty exacted. The other was the public flogging of a man in Nottingham market-place on market day. He was tied in a cart, and a man with a cat-o'-nine-tails laid on heavily upon his back as the cart was being driven slowly along. I happened by chance to see these; so far as I can remember, they excited no special interest; people gave a stare as they passed, and then went about their business.

It may be worth mentioning that during the whole time I was at Liverpool (1835–39), I had to travel from Nottingham to Manchester by coach, and then there was the railway to take me to Liverpool. The only accident on a railway which I have witnessed was on one of these journeys. Crossing Chat Moss, the lynch-pin was said to have come out of one of the wheels of the engine, and we stopped to repair damages. There was a pilot engine some distance behind us, and it ran into our train and smashed the last carriage. There was one gentleman in it; he providentially looked out of the window, saw the danger, and got on to the steps before the collision took place. He was thrown across the other line, but he rapidly jumped up, and as he put his foot on the step of the carriage in which I was, a train swept by that would have killed him.

In 1840 the time arrived for me to make new arrangements, and I was invited by Messrs. Sands & Co. to go to New York with the possibility of joining their house there at some future time, but my two remaining sisters (for one had died) naturally looked to me to provide a home where we could live together. With this intention I took a house at Liverpool, and went to Nottingham for a few weeks to make

arrangements for changing the residence of the family.

Before I left Liverpool, the first attempt to cross the Atlantic in a steamship was made. The Bristol merchants were the first to think of making the venture. They began to construct a larger steamer (the *Great Western*) than had as yet been built. When it was approaching completion, the Liverpool merchants awoke to the thought that it would be a scandal for them to be beaten by the Bristol people; and they arranged with the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company to send their best steamer (the *Royal William*, a paddle-wheel steamer) to New York. The experiment was considered very risky, as it was thought that no steamer could carry all the fuel that would be required for the voyage, and even bets were made that the steamer would never reach the other side of the Atlantic. This she happily did, but after a much longer passage than is now common. I saw her start.

Robert Gregory's life at Liverpool was not an easy one. His son says:—"He went at sixteen and stayed till twenty-one; and at eighteen he had to do the work of the head clerk, who had died, and had received a salary of £800. They gave my father nothing. He has often told me that when the

other clerks put on their hats and left (I suppose about 10 P.M.), he would stop on all through the night alone and get the bills of lading ready for the ships; then at twenty-one he was called in by the partners and offered a joint-partnership, worth, as he used to say, about £4000 a year. But he refused and said: 'I am going to be a clergyman,' and the partners' reply was, 'Well, you are a fool.'" Where the autobiography is resumed, we are told how this determination came about.

At that time John Hannah,[1] who was then a scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was on a visit to us. He was engaged to my eldest sister, whom he afterwards married. One evening, after my sisters had left us for the night, he began seriously to talk to me about the future. Was it not a waste of life for me simply to spend it in amassing a fortune; would it not be much better to give more serious effect to the newly awakened religious convictions that were working in me, to abandon all secular business and become a clergyman? I had visions of toiling for a time as a merchant, and then, if fortune favoured me, seeking to enter Parliament and push my way to the front. Of course, if I should resolve to be ordained, all this must be abandoned, and I must make up

[1] See *John Hannah: A Clerical Study*, by J. H. Overton, 1890.

my mind to some humbler sphere of work. The decision was practically in my own hands. I was just of age; my father had left me a modest competency. I had only to resolve to give up all that I was looking forward to at Liverpool; my way could be made clear at Oxford, for I could go there as a gentleman commoner, and so be admitted without examination. Happily I was enabled to make the right choice, and within three days of ever thinking of graduating at Oxford or being ordained, I was matriculated, on April 2, 1840. It is needless to say that this was the turning-point of my life; upon the decision then made my whole future depended, and I can truly say, though I have had to encounter many trials, I have never once regretted the choice I made.

When I went to Oxford there was railway communication from Nottingham to London *via* Rugby, but only a coach to convey passengers from Rugby or Blisworth to Oxford; whilst the Great Western Railway was only open as far as Maidenhead, but every term there was a further advance in the construction of the Great Western Railway, until it landed us at Steventon, which was for years the nearest station to Oxford. There was no railway to Oxford, because the college

authorities greatly feared the effects that a railway through Oxford might have upon the discipline of the university.

During my undergraduate days, I had the privilege of taking part in my first church work. In the lower part of the town of Nottingham, where I had some property, there was a considerable poor population, for which very scant provision was made by the Church for their spiritual instruction. At the suggestion of the Rev. W. Butler, Head Master of the Grammar School, with whom I was reading during vacation, I became joint-honorary secretary with him to a committee that was formed for building a new church. Its labours were crowned with success, and St. John's, Leen Side, was built, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gilbert Scott being our architect. The patronage was placed in the hands of the bishop of the diocese.

In the month after I matriculated at Oxford there was a bye-election at Nottingham, in which I took great interest. Nottingham being a county as well as a borough, I was qualified as a freeholder, as soon as I was of age and had my name on the register. Political parties at that time were very evenly balanced. Lord John Russell[1] was

[1] It should be Lord Melbourne. Lord John Russell was Colonial Secretary in his Ministry.

Prime Minister, with a majority of only one in the House of Commons on which he could confidently rely. At that time Sir Ronald Ferguson,[1] one of the members for Nottingham, and a supporter of the Government, died. There was naturally a fierce contest, Mr. Walter of the *Times* being the Conservative candidate. I volunteered my services to canvass for him in a part of the town where I was well known, having property there. It was a surprise to me to be told in nearly every house where the voters were poor, "I shall vote for him as does best for me," and when I sought to argue the question, the reply invariably was, "Why is it worse for me, a poor man, to take a few pounds for my vote, than for Sir John Hobhouse, the other member for the borough, to gain £5000 a year by being in Parliament?" (He was President of the Board of Control.) The answer was obvious, but it was equally obvious that it would have no effect. On the day of the election, Mr. Walter gained every hour up to 12 o'clock; in the dinner-hour his opponent reduced his majority. (It was then open voting.) Being in the committee room, a leading supporter of his came up to me and said,

[1] General Sir Ronald Ferguson, colonel of the 79th regiment, and M.P. for Nottingham, died April 10, 1841.

"There are twenty voters at the Flying Horse, who want £400 for their votes; we must have them;" and so he went and secured them. Mr. Walter was elected.[1]

The result of the election caused an early dissolution of Parliament. The borough was then fiercely contested by two candidates on each side; and once, when I was in a low part of the town, two friends of Mr. Walter came up to me and said, "The mob is trying to murder Mr. Walter a few streets off." We hastened to do what we could to succour him, but fortunately the soldiers arrived a few minutes before us.

On the nomination day we thought we had a majority of 400 promised votes on which we could confidently reckon. At the Nottingham elections a number of the poorer voters, who would never vote without money, were placed in public-houses on the eve of the polling day under the protection of a force known as the "Nottingham lambs," and were taken out in the early morning to vote. I had assisted in placing a certain number of these men, whose names had been given me at head-

[1] The poll was declared on April 28:—Walter, 1983; Larpent, 1745. The *Annual Register* says: "This election excited some interest, owing to the tottering state of the Ministry, and the presumed reaction of public opinion generally, and especially upon the operation of the New Poor Law."

quarters, in a public-house at the usual time. Going early next morning to take them to the poll, I met our two candidates, Mr. Walter and Mr. T. B. Charlton, with Lord Lincoln and several of the chief supporters of the party, near the Central Committee Room, who said: "It is all up with us, the other party have sent their agents secretly, under one disguise or another, to all the public-houses where we have voters bottled, and have given each of these men a pound more than we had promised, so that it is not worth our while to go to the poll; we must rely upon a petition." And this was what was done. I thought it well to recount these political incidents, as I hope that it would be difficult to find similar proceedings at the present day, though possibly it may be that indirect bribery has been substituted for direct; whilst the greatly increased size of the constituencies makes the old method of procedure more difficult, if not impracticable.

At the General Election in July, Sir D. H. Larpent and Sir J. C. Hobhouse headed the poll, defeating Mr. John Walter and Mr. T. B. Charlton by large majorities. The Earl of Lincoln and Colonel Rolleston were returned for South Nottinghamshire without contest.

It is curious that the Dean made no reference

to earlier Nottingham experiences. In October 1831, when he was twelve years old, after the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords, the gravest disorder broke out in the city and the neighbourhood. In October the Castle was burnt, Colwick Hall (belonging to Mr. Musters) was sacked, and a factory at Beeston was destroyed. It is rather surprising that the Dean should not have remembered the lurid scenes which left so strong an impression upon those who witnessed them. My mother, who lived at Nuttall Temple, and was born in the same year as the Dean, remembered vividly being aroused in the middle of the night and prepared for flight, but remaining in the house when it was discovered that the rioters did not intend to damage it. She saw from the windows the crowd with torches pass by. I am inclined to think that Robert Gregory cannot have been in Nottingham at the time. He was probably away at school.

To Oxford, then, he went in the spring of 1840, and entered the university on April 2. He would tell that at his matriculation, when he had translated the first line of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the examiner closed the book and passed him, and then said, "Now, Mr. Gregory, I have only one thing to say to you—that I hope you will do just what you like while you are here." "As he was somewhat older than the ordinary undergraduate," says Dean Hannah, "and as means were abundant in those days, he became a gentleman commoner, from which he used to say he derived no advantage

whatever beyond the privilege of paying double fees, and wearing a velvet college cap, which he always did to the end of his days."

When young Gregory went to Oxford, the Tractarian movement was at its zenith. There were mutterings of coming storm, it is true. Silly young persons—and parsons—had gone beyond the wisdom of their teachers, and talked nonsense in common rooms and churches. At the end of 1839 Mr. Newman had been annoyed by the vagaries of John Morris of Exeter College, who had preached for him at St. Mary's during his short holiday away from Oxford, and in spite of a caution "against extravagance . . . what does he do [says Newman] but preach a sermon not simply on angels, but on his one subject, for which he has a monomania, of fasting; nay, and say that it was a good thing, whereas angels feasted on festivals, to make the brute creation fast on fast days." But side by side with the extravagances of foolish people, Newman noticed a real growth of seriousness in the university. He was cheered by the number of weekly communicants at St. Mary's, "in the dark, even"; but still he felt desponding, and feared "right principles" were "working up to a collision with Puritanism, which may split the Church." But he was steadily labouring on; his catechising at Littlemore "a great attraction" in Lent, men walking out from Oxford every Sunday to hear it; planning his μονή with three-room cells; advising many by letter as well as in personal interviews; known and marked by undergraduates as he remembered Mr. Keble to have

been. Principal Shairp has recorded with unique directness and sympathy the impression that he made, the "mysterious veneration" that he inspired. So young Gregory must often have seen him, for his college was but just across the street from Oriel. "In Oriel Lane light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper, 'There's Newman!' when, head thrust forward and gaze fixed as though on some vision seen only by himself, with swift, noiseless step, he glided by —awe fell on them for a moment, almost as if it had been some apparition that had passed."

Such was Newman when Gregory first came to know him, famous, widely influential, confident in his own sincerity of belief in the Church in England, yet beginning to feel some hesitation as to the tendency of his opinions "to create Roman sympathies." And it was in 1840, Dr. Liddon tells us, that the nickname Puseyism first became widely known. The great firm teacher who lived so retired a life in Christ Church, and yet was influencing so many throughout England, had somehow, quite unconsciously, fixed his name as the governing thought of the Oxford movement. Popular intuition, as so often, had hit upon the right person by whom to label the party. Pusey's undeviating adherence to the Church of England, his determination to treat her formularies and her rules honestly, and yet to find them, to force them sometimes to be, agreeable to the Catholic faith of the ancient undivided Church, was a tower of strength to the young men who were reviving the life of the Church.

It was into Oxford, when this influence was strong, that Robert Gregory was introduced in 1841. It is notable that, when he looked back more than sixty years, with how little excitement he spoke about it, though he said it was an exciting time. We have read so much about the Tractarians of recent years, that we fancy every one in the period of their importance talking about them. But this was by no means so, even in Oxford. A former fellow of Magdalen, who was born within a year of Robert Gregory, and was, as a bright, clever Lincolnshire demy from Shrewsbury School, his contemporary at Oxford, used, in his later years, often to say: "I was in Oxford all through those exciting years of which people now talk so much, and when all these great men were to be seen and heard there, but I knew nothing at all about it." And an exact contemporary of Gregory's, who lived to be head of an Oxford college, and died not long before him, came no more closely into contact with the movement during these years than from constantly attending Mr. Newman's sermons. There is often a great deal of excitement in Oxford, but the number of undergraduates who are excited is very small. We may be sure that, while Gregory was deeply affected, there was no unhealthy excitement about him. All that remains of Robert Gregory's knowledge of Mr. Newman during these undergraduate years, besides a reference later on in the autobiography, is a small three-cornered note in the famous delicate hand, addressed "R. Gregory, Esq., C.C.C.," and in these words: "Dear Sir,—I

am much obliged by your note, and shall be glad to see you at St. Mary's this morning.—Yours faithfully, John H. Newman. Oriel, Sunday morning."

Though the autobiography says perhaps less about it than we might expect, there can be no doubt that the Tractarian movement, in its stedfast determination to bring out all that was best in the Church of England and in its perpetual insistence on simple sincerity of life, had a profound influence on young Gregory,—how profound will be seen later on. But quite as important, no doubt, was the influence of a very dear friend.

Archdeacon Hannah, the life-long friend of Robert Gregory, was the son of an eminent Wesleyan minister, also named John Hannah, who was born in 1792 and died in 1867. The father acted as delegate to the United States from the Wesleyan Conference in 1824 and 1856, and was President of the Conference in 1842 and 1851. During the last twenty-four years of his life he was tutor of Didsbury. He represented the old orthodox type of dissent—he never considered himself a dissenter—and wrote, among other works, a defence of infant baptism. His son John was born on July 16, 1818, and was thus less than a year older than Robert Gregory, whose sister Anne Sophia he married on July 5, 1843. John Hannah the younger was — said Dr. Gregory when he preached his funeral sermon—"from his earliest years dedicated to the ministry of the Church. I do not think that he ever seriously entertained the thought of any other vocation." He became a scholar of Corpus Christi

College, Oxford, in 1837, fellow of Lincoln, 1840, and, after serving the college living of Combe, near Woodstock, was rector of Edinburgh Academy 1847 – 1850, warden of Glenalmond 1854–1870, vicar of Brighton 1870–1887, and archdeacon of Lewes from 1876 to his death in 1888. He was a man of wide reading and deep piety, a charming companion and a true friend. There can be no doubt that he influenced the earlier years of his brother-in-law very deeply. In later life the two men influenced each other, to the great profit of each. In the last visitation address of Archdeacon Hannah, he quoted some words which may well be inserted here :—"Many a man without genius, scholarship, or fancy, has gained by plain honesty, patience, and common sense, a power over the human heart, and a power over his work, which his more accomplished brothers can only admire afar off." And he added words of his own which are equally appropriate in this connection :—"It has been prophesied that later ages will probably dwell most, when recounting the virtues of the clergy of our time, on the services which they have rendered in promoting the physical, moral, and spiritual welfare of the poor. These good works will remain a fragrant memory when the kindly hand of time has drawn a veil over the history of our jarring contentions, and when speculations, which now rank high among the interests of the period, will be altogether superseded and forgotten." No life better illustrates the truth of these words than that of Robert Gregory.

It is characteristic that the autobiography, the

moment the beginning of the Oxford career is mentioned, goes off to the interests of the outside world — religion, human nature, politics — which always concerned the writer much more than scholarship, or even spiritual influences, apart from their practical issue in life.

We return to the manuscript. He now begins to tell about his Oxford life.

Immediately after the Easter Vacation I commenced my residence in Oxford, and steadily applied myself to such studies as were required to obtain an ordinary degree, and to read theology. My life there was uneventful. I tried to gain all that I could from a university life. I spoke several times at the Union, which I have always regarded as a most difficult task. It has fallen to my lot to have a considerable amount of public speaking, and before audiences of various kinds; but no audience did I dread half so much as that of the Union, none was so free in its criticism, and in its desire to make a speaker look ridiculous. The discipline was good for me, and in after life I have often been thankful that I made the venture at Oxford.

The narrative may here be interrupted for a moment to record a famous occasion at the Union.

On February 10, 1841, Mr. Robert Gregory of C.C.C. spoke against a motion "that the character of John Hampden entitles him to the veneration of his countrymen," and moved as an amendment "that John Hampden deserves the execration of every good man, as a man illustrious for his crimes alone." In later years the Dean was much amused at receiving the record of his youthful vehemence.

It was my privilege to be a frequent attendant at St. Mary's, both at early morning Celebration and at the afternoon service, when Newman preached, as well as at the regular University services, at which the undergraduates were expected to be present.

In the spring of 1843 I passed my final examination, and graduated as a Bachelor of Arts in the following October. By this means I was enabled to attend the Professors' lectures on Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology, and to prepare for my ordination in the ensuing Advent.

There happened to be at that time a rumour in the University (which I afterwards found to be untrue) that the heads of houses had resolved to refuse testimonials to candidates for Holy Orders who neglected or refused to attend chapel on the 5th of November, when the service of thanksgiving for the arrival of William III., as well as

for deliverance from the Popish plot was read. At that time there was a good deal of discussion about the "Divine Right of Kings," and as a young Tory, I imagined that I had a strong view on that subject. I therefore arranged to go down to Bisley for a couple of days at that time, so as to be out of Oxford on the 5th November, having had an invitation to become curate to the Rev. Thomas Keble, the vicar of that parish. This I did, and went over to Gloucester to see the Bishop, Dr. Monk, who accepted me as a candidate for ordination in Advent. I was then ordained Deacon, and in a black gown performed my first ministration in church by reading the Gospel.

The religious state of Oxford during my undergraduate days was very exciting. In the earlier portion of it, Newman was at the zenith of his influence. Most of the thoughtful and more religious undergraduates were attracted by his teaching, and to a greater or less extent might be numbered amongst his followers.

I remember a tutor of one of the colleges, who was of the careless school in matters of religion, saying to me on Ash Wednesday: "I wonder how many hundredweights of fish and how little meat has been eaten in Oxford to-day."

At the same time, the many undergraduates

who were under the influence of the teaching of the "Tracts for the Times" were very strict in their attention to religious observances.

During the whole of my undergraduate days my Sundays were spent as follows (and I have no reason to suppose that what I and some other members of my college did was at all different to what was done in other colleges): I went to the Celebration at St. Mary's (Newman's Church) at seven o'clock, to College Chapel at eight, to the University service at ten and again at two, to Newman's service at St. Mary's at four, and to College Chapel at seven; whilst on week-days I generally was present at College Chapel both at Matins and Evensong.

The heads of houses were aware of the feeling amongst the undergraduates in favour of the Tractarians, and set themselves in different ways to oppose it. The Provost of Oriel questioned candidates for Fellowship, when they called upon him to give in their names, respecting the extent to which they agreed with the teaching of the "Tracts for the Times"; and it was understood that their answers would seriously influence the Provost's vote at the election. The Warden of Wadham fixed the dinner on Sundays at an hour which would make it impossible for men to hear

the sermon at St. Mary's, and an undergraduate rendered himself liable to rustication if he was absent from the Sunday dinner in hall without leave. But the opinions of the heads of houses carried little weight with undergraduates. They rarely saw them, and as a rule did nothing to attract them to their belief. On the other hand, the more enthusiastic of the young men, influenced by the "Tracts for the Times," actively spread their opinions amongst their brother undergraduates, and some of them regularly attended the weekly tea-parties which Newman had in Oriel; but this I never did. After the appearance of Tract 90 [February 27, 1841], there was a perceptible difference in the aspect of affairs. The protest of the four tutors served as the nucleus of an opposition; a war of pamphlets succeeded; Newman preached less regularly at St. Mary's; there was a feeling of disquietude in the minds of many. Extreme opinions and practices were resorted to by some men who had previously been moderate. They seemed to be drifting, they knew not exactly whither; but there was with them a Roman bias which foreshadowed what was about to happen. Thus with regard to men in my own college, MacMullen was Dean, and I remember some of us were one

day in his rooms, when we began to talk about holy orders, and he insisted that the three orders were Deacons, Priests (some of whom had the power of ordaining, and so were called Bishops), and the Pope. Whilst for practices, I remember one Lent an old scout coming into my rooms with the tears in his eyes, and saying: "Please, sir, Mr. Meyrick" (a senior scholar of the college) "has eaten nothing between Sunday and Sunday but a handful of rice daily, creed in water; last night he never took off his clothes, but lay on his bed with his Bachelor's gown round him." The consequence was that he began to see visions and dream dreams, and then for a time he had to be placed under the care of an experienced keeper. Both these good men turned Roman Catholics, as did Spencer Northcote, a senior scholar, who was afterwards Principal of Oscott. For a time distrust was everywhere. The more thoughtful men were scared, and felt that a catastrophe was at hand. Those amongst us who had no tendency towards Rome clung to Dr. Pusey's teaching, and no more unwise step could have been taken by his opponents than the condemnation of his sermon on the Holy Eucharist by a court of six doctors [June 2, 1843], who were apparently conscious that their

action would be condemned by a large portion of the younger members of the University, and who therefore took the foolish step of keeping all their proceedings strictly private, not venturing to state what portions of the sermon they condemned, or allowing Dr. Pusey to repeat publicly what they had said to him. Nothing was made known but the unjust sentence which they passed, and it can easily be understood how much mischief was done by such proceedings in the then excited state of men's minds, and this in more ways than one. Staying with my brother-in-law at Combe, near Oxford, during the latter part of the long vacation of 1843, I went to Littlemore for their anniversary festival, at which Newman preached his last sermon in the Church of England—"the parting of friends." Until that day I had never realised the full meaning of the words "he lifted up his voice and wept." But then there was not a dry eye in the church excepting those of the preacher: Dr. Pusey, Morris of Exeter (afterwards a pervert to Rome), and some others sobbed aloud, and the sound of their weeping resounded through the church. After the sermon Newman descended from the pulpit, took off his hood, and threw it over the altar rails, and it was felt by those present that

this was to mark that he had ceased to be a teacher in the Church of England.

There are many accounts of the famous scene of September 25, 1843, which Robert Gregory here so briefly and so pointedly describes. I need not quote them, for they are well known. But there is one which I have not often seen referred to, and I may take a few points from it, for they seem especially to supplement what has been said here.[1] Edward Bellasis, a barrister of forty-three, next year to become a serjeant-at-law, was an intimate friend of the Tractarians, and he came down to Oxford on the 23rd of September for the purpose of attending the dedication festival at Littlemore two days later. Writing on the 24th to his wife, he said: "Newman, I am told, is very much out of spirits. He gave up his living on Monday last." On the afternoon of that day—he had attended "early communion at St. Mary's at seven" and the cathedral at eight—he heard Newman preach a sermon without any allusion to his retirement. Next morning he called for Dr. Pusey at a quarter to ten, and they walked briskly out to Littlemore. "The service was at eleven, and, as usual, the chapel was decorated, with flowers upon the altar, in the

[1] *Memorials of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis*, 1800–1873, by Edward Bellasis, London, 1895, pp. 61 *sqq.* In the quotations I have ventured to correct the extraordinary punctuation of the printed text. For the knowledge, and the loan, of this book I am indebted to the Rev. Canon Ollard, Vice-Principal of S. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

windows above, over Mrs. Newman's tomb, and on every seat on both sides of the middle aisle, chiefly dahlias, passion-flowers, and fuchsias, and they were most beautiful as well as elegantly arranged. The service commenced with a procession of the clergy and school-children from the schools to the chapel, chanting a psalm as they walked. The officiating clergy were Newman (for the last time), Pusey, Copeland, and Bowles. There was a communion, and Newman preached his farewell sermon. It is easy enough to tell you these simple facts, but it would be no easy thing to convey to you any adequate impression of the whole scene, the crowd of friends from all parts, the half-mournful greetings, the extreme silence of the chapel, though crowded till chairs were obliged to be set in the churchyard, the children with their new frocks and bonnets (Newman's parting gift). I did not see Newman speak to any one before the service. The offertory was stated to be intended to be applied to completing the reseating of the chapel, and the communicants were 140 in number. But the sermon I can never forget, the faltering voice, the long pauses, the perceptible and hardly successful efforts at restraining himself, together with the deep interest of the subject, were almost overpowering. Newman's voice was low, but distinct and clear, and his subject was a half-veiled complaint and remonstrance at the treatment which drove him away." After a summary of the sermon, Mr. Bellasis added: "Newman received the communion, but took no farther part in

officiating. Dr. Pusey consecrated the elements in tears, and once or twice became entirely overcome and stopped altogether. However, nothing I can say to you can give you the remotest idea of the sorrowfulness or solemnity of the scene."

CHAPTER II

PARISH WORK IN COUNTRY AND TOWN, 1843–1873

THERE were not a few whose allegiance to the Church of England was threatened, even destroyed, by the treatment Pusey had received and by the withdrawal of Newman. But Gregory was not one of these. He was firmly convinced of the truth and Catholicity of the English Church as he understood it. He was, as all through his life, quite unmoved by popular clamour or unjust judgment. He quietly prepared for ordination as curate to one of the Tractarians.

In the spring of 1843 I passed the examination for an ordinary pass degree, the only thing to be noted about which was that I was examined *viva voce* on the same day with Alexander Forbes, afterwards Bishop of Brechin, his name standing alphabetically first of the ten men so examined that day, and my name the last. On Christmas Eve in the same year I was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and after a short holiday I entered upon the duties of the curacy at Bisley. In the following year I was

ordained priest. All my life through I have felt that it was a great privilege to have been curate to Mr. Keble.[1] He was most kind and thoughtful, and whilst very steadfast to the Church principles he held, he was singularly averse to eccentricities of ritual, or to changes in the service which might offend any of the parishioners. Appointed to the vicarage of Bisley by Lord Eldon, as Chancellor, he had from the first endeavoured to obey the rubrics so far as possible without giving offence. His was the first church in which the practice of regular double daily service was revived; whilst at the same time he persevered for more than twenty years in the use of a hymn book which he disliked, which had been introduced into the church by his predecessor, a very Low Churchman, whose widow and family continued to live in a house adjoining the churchyard. He had built a chapel of ease at Oakridge, a hamlet of the parish about two miles distant from the mother church, and whilst I was curate a beautiful little church was built at Bussage, another hamlet, at the cost of a number of Oxford undergraduates. My home was to be in a parsonage adjoining the Oakridge chapel, and I was to be responsible for looking after that part

[1] Thomas Keble, younger brother of John. He was born 1793, was fellow of C.C.C. and rector of Bisley from 1827 to his death in 1875.

of the parish. About every matter of difficulty Mr. Keble gave invaluable advice, but he would never allow me to accompany him in a visit to a sick person: he thought it would trench upon the privacy of a sick-room, which he felt ought to be sacred. He had erected and supported schools both at Bisley and Oakridge, and whilst he regularly taught in the former, he expected me with strict regularity to teach in the latter. He held that this was the only way of attaching the children to the Church, and that through the children was the best avenue of successfully reaching the parents. For this part of the discipline of my first curacy, I have always been most thankful, as I have no doubt that the principle on which he acted is the true one, and that the loss of Church influence is untold, wherever the clergy neglect to take an active part themselves in the education of the younger members of their flock. They have less technical knowledge of the art of teaching than the trained teachers, but their office gives them a power and influence with children in school which is of the greatest value in forming religious impressions in them. The only peculiarity that I can remember in the services at the Parish Church, was that when there was a funeral on a Sunday afternoon, the coffin was brought into the church before the

service, and laid on a catafalque in the central aisle, the Psalms in the Office for the Burial of the Dead (both of them if the deceased had been a communicant, one of them if he had not been) and the Lesson from 1st Corinthians being used instead of the Psalms and Second Lesson for the day. It is also worthy of remark that we never had an early Celebration. The only one I ever saw in those days was at St. Mary's Oxford.

After I was ordained priest, I celebrated standing in front of the altar, because I never could see that the rubric ordered any other position. Mr. Keble assisted me the first time I was celebrant, and he said to me afterwards: "I think you are right in the position you took; it seems most conformable to the rubric. Some few people took it when I was ordained, but I never have done so; but take care to let the people see you break the Bread and elevate the Cup: English people dislike the appearance of mystery."

Parochial work, as it is now happily understood by most clergymen, was then little practised. At Mr. Keble's suggestion I made a complete speculum of the part of the parish committed to my care. I called at every house, and obtained the names of all the families, ascertained whether they were baptized and confirmed; whether they attended

church or elsewhere. There were about one thousand people for whom I was responsible; this made me known to them as the curate of the parish, and gave me a knowledge of them which was invaluable during the whole time I remained in the parish. Another duty at the suggestion of Mr. Keble I undertook, which was not common in those days. I had an evening class of a few of my younger grown-up parishioners. The number was limited, as in that way it was thought that such a class would be more likely to form the nucleus of a body of workers that might help in the parish, than one could expect from a large number. The class was successful, and though the rule about attendance was very strict—any young woman not attending without having given previous notice being liable to dismissal—only one had to be sent away during nearly three years that the class was held. There were no pupil teachers, no Government help towards the support of the schools; no inspection or trained teachers; all that was distant by some years. The Sunday Schools were a large and an important part of parish work; the girls often attending until they were married, and the boys remaining to a much later age than they have done in recent years. At Bisley, Isaac Williams, one of the most prominent writers of the "Tracts

for the Times," was curate. He had been Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College Oxford, and was the author of an exposition of the Gospels, and other works in prose and in verse. Mr. Thomas Keble wrote several of the "Tracts for the Times."

Isaac Williams worked with Newman for some time as his curate at St. Mary's, but he was always very anti-Roman in his principles and sympathies. He said to me one day that in his heart he could not help feeling that Rome was the Scarlet Woman of the Apocalypse; but he shrank from saying so in any of his books. He was a victim to asthma, which troubled him for many years, and at last compelled him to give up all clerical work. I learned one day, when calling upon Williams, that Newman had seceded to Rome, as he showed me a letter that he had just received from him stating that this had been done. He had two children born to him whilst I was at Bisley, and at his request I immersed them when I baptized them, the water having been warmed. We were all a good deal amused at the baptism of his first child. He said he was resolved that his children should none of them have the Jewish names by which he and his brother were called, so he was christened "John Edward," after John Keble and Edward Manning, and the child's initials were J. E. W.

It may be well to show Mr. Keble's feeling with regard to perversions to Rome by what happened on one occasion. I had to go to Oxford, and when there, as I was in Parker's shop, a gentleman came up to shake me heartily by the hand. Not in the least recognising him, I said to him: "You have the advantage of me, might I ask your name?" Upon which he turned away in a huff and said: "Oh, that is it." It was Mr. Estcourt, who had been curate of Cirencester and had turned Roman a week or two before. When I told Mr. Keble, he was much pleased and said: "That is the way you should always treat those fellows."

The most startling thing that happened during my tenure of the curacy at Bisley occurred a few months after my entering on the duties of that office. The church at Bisley was much disfigured by a number of galleries erected at different periods, several of them having a flight of steps outside the church, with a doorway cut through one of the windows. There were no fewer than thirteen doors to the church. Beside this a large deep gallery, with four square pews, had been erected under the chancel arch, the bottom of it almost touching the head of a tall person entering the chancel, and the erection so completely blocking the voice of the clergyman

reading from the altar that the ante-communion service had to be read from the reading-desk. Isaac Williams, my brother curate, being much troubled with asthma, Mr. Keble, having to be away for some days, had requested me to assist Mr. Williams at the ordinary ten o'clock week-day service. After one of these services, coming out of church, Mr. Williams said: "That chancel gallery will drive me out of the parish." To this I said: "Why do you not pull it down?" "Would you do it?" he replied. To which I said: "With pleasure." "Well," he answered, "I will pay anything that has to be paid." Upon which, with the help of two carpenters, I set to work, and before night it was down. There was, of course, a considerable disturbance, and the act was a foolish one, but how much obloquy fell upon Mr. Keble I never knew till twenty years after, and then talking matters over with him he told us, for it had so happened that immediately after the downfall of the gallery I was married to Mary Frances, daughter of Mr. William Stewart, Black Rock, near Dublin, and was absent from the parish for some weeks.

Mr. Gregory's marriage took place on June 5, 1844. The children of the marriage were:—Emily

Mary, who died in 1911 ; Robert Stewart, now rector of Much Hadham, Hertfordshire ; and Francis Ambrose, long a missionary in Madagascar, and now (since 1904) Bishop of Mauritius. Mrs. Gregory died on June 21, 1851.

In 1847 I reluctantly left Bisley, as I found that domestic affairs at Nottingham demanded that I should be for a time within easy reach of that town. It was seven years since I had come of age, and I could obtain no satisfactory settlement of the business arising under my father's will. I therefore took the curacy of Panton and Wragby, in Lincolnshire. On my journey there I stayed a few days at Oxford, during which time the proposal to ask Mr. Gladstone to become a candidate for the representation of the University in Parliament was mooted ; and as he was then a Tory and a High Churchman I attended a meeting at the Star Hotel to promote an invitation to him to become a candidate for the University. On the Sunday after my arrival at my new curacy I had to assist Mr. Yard (the rector) at the celebration of Holy Communion. He administered the Bread to two persons, whilst repeating the words only once ; and upon the altar were two chalices,

showing that the assistant was expected to adopt the same plan. I was placed in a difficulty; the custom of administering to a whole rail full at a time, saying the words only once, was then common, and I had denounced it strongly. I felt that I had the choice between the rector's use and leaving the curacy next day. I chose the latter and used only one chalice, administering to each person separately. But so far from having to leave the next day, the rector never mentioned the difference between us, and never administered to two at a time afterwards.

As evidence of the frequency of the custom just mentioned, I may state that at the church in Nottingham, at which we regularly attended, this plan of administering to a rail full with one repetition of the words was always done, and it so scandalised a dear, good, old-fashioned gentleman that he invariably waited till the last rail full had been communicated, and then knelt down by himself, so compelling the clergyman to administer to him individually.

Panton Hall was then let for a ladies' boarding-school, and for a time I volunteered to give religious instruction to the girls, but I found after some months that I had the credit of being a higher Churchman than suited the popular taste,

and so at a hint[1] from the lady at the head of the school my visits were discontinued; but the whole party were regular attendants at the church. Here we had daily services, and I found that one or two of the family of a farmer, who lived near the church, not infrequently attended; but I had to open the church and ring the bell as well as read the service, and was often the only person in church. At Wragby there was an excellent school, which was placed under my care, and in which I regularly taught on certain days of the week; besides which I invited the schoolmaster to come on one or two evenings in the week to learn Latin, which he gladly did for some years. In the leisure of a country curacy I wrote for a Denyer essay prize at Oxford and obtained it, Alexander, afterwards Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Armagh, obtaining the other prize.[2] I also wrote a pamphlet —a plea for small parishes. In a large proportion of the Lincolnshire parishes a custom had grown up of providing only one service, alternately morn-

[1] This, as a draft letter (May 25, 1848) of his shows, was a proposal that he should teach only once a fortnight instead of once a week. His letter is an illustration of his life-long feeling that religious education, if given at all, must be a reality, not a sham.

[2] Mrs. Denyer's theological prizes were awarded in 1850 to William Alexander, New Inn Hall, for an essay on "The Divinity of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," and to Robert Gregory, Corpus, for an essay on "True Faith must be accompanied by Good Works."

ing and evening, on the Sunday, although the incumbent's income in many of the parishes was considerable. In those days of pluralities it frequently happened that the resident incumbent of one parish undertook the charge of a neighbouring parish, sometimes as incumbent of both parishes; of others as incumbent of one parish and curate of the other, each parish having only one weekly service. It need scarcely be added that such a system contributed greatly to the spread of dissent. I therefore collected returns from nearly all the parishes in the county of their value, population, and the number of Sunday services, which I published, accompanied with a plea that when there was a sufficient income for the support of a clergyman the parishioners were entitled to two services. It will give some idea of the level of church opinion at the time to say that when my rector gave a copy of the pamphlet to the Bishop of the Diocese (Dr. Kaye), after reading it, he said: "Tell Mr. Gregory that I think his pamphlet will do good, but he must understand that by writing it he has for ever closed against himself all prospect of promotion in this diocese."

A Plea in Behalf of Small Parishes, with Particular Reference to the County of Lincoln,

by Robert Gregory, M.A., Curate of Panton, Lincolnshire, was published by Rivingtons in 1849. It is an exceedingly interesting and very vigorous pamphlet directed against the joining of parishes and consequent holding of only one service in each on Sunday, against the "boxing up" of pews, and against the inadequate payment which, in some cases, made clergymen pluralists. It has an appendix showing the value of Lincolnshire livings and the number of Sunday services held in the churches. It is dated March 20, 1849. The evidence that it afforded of neglect on the part of many parish priests may well account for the feeling expressed by Dr. Kaye.

A letter from the Bishop to the Vicar of Grimsby is extant, in which he heartily approves of the pamphlet and takes blame to himself for not compelling, as well as urging, the clergy to the performance of their duties. Isaac Williams wrote to the author cordially endorsing his strictures on those "who receive Church incomes without fulfilling its duties." He added: "I have just been reading a Lincolnshire man's travels in the deserts of Sahara, where he says that the Mahometans, during the journey of the caravans, formally kept their five times of prayer during the day, *i.e.* every day, so that I don't think any apology is necessary for two services on a Sunday. I suppose practically nothing increases Sunday services more in a neighbourhood than the daily service; one instance of this latter speaks of itself so strongly as to put that way of going on out of countenance. You speak more gently and patiently of your brother

clergy than I could have done—the things for which poor people are sent to Botany Bay are trifles compared with this way of going on."

While he was in Lincolnshire he made friends with many notables of the county, among them Sir Charles Anderson, the lifelong friend of Bishop Wilberforce. Of Sir Charles, whom I well remember, when I was a boy, as one of our nearest neighbours, and of his other Lincolnshire friends, the Dean would often talk to me in his old age. Lincolnshire memories were always happy ones for him.

I may add here something from Dean Hannah's reminiscences, which fitly illustrates the requirements of a country parson in the middle of the nineteenth century :—

" He was all his life very fond of exercise, but it always took the form of walking. He was an excellent walker, and never tired. Panton, his second curacy, was just ten miles from Lincoln station. He had frequent occasion to go there to catch his trains for Nottingham, and he had a horse in his stable at the time. But he always walked both there and back, and he used to tell me that he easily covered the ten miles within the two hours. Once when he was on a tour with my father in Switzerland, they were walking up a mountain—at least he was walking and my father was riding by his side. He was then well on for sixty, and his performance excited the admiration of the guide, who remarked to my father : ' He marches well, that Herr, specially for such a fat Herr.' When I was Vicar of Brighton, Dean

Goulburn was living in retirement in the town, and we three often used to go out for walks together. The favourite excursion was along the cliff to Newhaven, and back by train. On one occasion my uncle had provided himself with a large and juicy pear, which he destined for his refreshment by the way. This he deposited in the pocket of his long tail-coat. At some point of vantage on the road he threw himself down for a few minutes on a grassy bank, from which he jumped up in a hurry, saying: "I have sat down upon my pear." He produced it out of his pocket somewhat in the form of a Scotch scone, but he was not to be baulked of his prospective refreshment, and promptly consumed it, to the immense amusement of Goulburn, who frequently asked me in after years: 'Has Gregory sat down on any more pears?'"

Whilst I was curate of Panton and Wragby the Church was much agitated by the question of the clergy preaching in their surplices, a charge of the Bishop of London (Blomfield) having given prominence to the question, and also to the propriety of collecting alms in church during the reading of the offertory sentences. The newspapers of London and the country thundered against the clergy who dared to introduce such Popish practices, whilst an ignorant people attached importance to what they wrote. In Lincoln-

shire, owing to the absence of vestries in many parishes, the clergy had been accustomed to preach in their surplices, and not in black gowns. A neighbour of mine, anxious to prove his sympathy with the popular opinion, introduced the black gown in preaching, and for doing so was mobbed by his parishioners as a Puseyite. At this time the Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire Church Union was started for the purpose of uniting the clergy and laity of the diocese in defence of Church principles, and I was appointed one of its Honorary Secretaries. Its chief action consisted in promoting the election of two members of its own body as proctors to represent the clergy in Convocation, and so helped to further the revival of Convocation, by the voices of its representatives, who contended for such revival.

In 1851 my wife died and left me three young children; the rectory house at Panton, in which we lived, had too limited accommodation for us when my sister came to take charge of my house and children, and so I resolved to seek a curacy in London.

When I was at Panton I was a good deal scandalised with the miserable accommodation provided in the cottages for the labourers. Some of them had only one bedroom, none more than

two. I accordingly wrote to Mr. Turner, who owned the whole of the parish; in reply he said he was painfully aware of the unsatisfactory state of many of the cottages on his estate, and that he was spending a considerable sum every year in building new ones, but that his estates had come into his possession with such very defective cottages that it would take some years before he could complete what was needed. This stirred up my resolve to do what I could to improve the dwellings for the poor in Nottingham, where I had some property. It so happened that a small field belonging to me had recently been made available for building purposes, together with a good deal of land in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. A philanthropic individual had offered a prize for the best design for workmen's cottages; this design I adopted, and covered my land with houses of this type.

To this Mr. R. S. Gregory gives me a note "about the houses my father built in Nottingham. Over sixty years ago the Nottingham Corporation offered a prize for the best plan of a workman's cottage, not to exceed in cost of construction £100. My father had had a small piece of vacant land left him by his father, and he took the prize

plan and built some cottages on the land, now known as Stewart Place."

Mr. Gregory was then getting his property into good order again. Dean Hannah says of this period :—

"Owing to the bad management of those to whose hands his father had entrusted it, this property was in considerable confusion, and a great deal of money had been lost during his long minority. When at last he got the management of his affairs into his own hands, he hardly knew at first how much could be saved out of the wreck. His business talents, however, served him in good stead at this crisis of his life, and he soon had things on a more satisfactory footing. But ere long, trouble of another kind came upon him. After a brief wedded life of only seven years his first wife died while he was at Panton, and he declared that his life was ended and his work was done. But as soon as he had pulled himself together, he determined to give up his country curacy, and to seek for more strenuous labours in some large town. Young, unknown, and friendless, he encountered considerable difficulty in getting what he wanted. After many disappointments, he once wrote to my father: 'No one has offered me a curacy, or a bishopric either.'

"It was somewhat difficult in those far-off days for a young and inexperienced clergyman, without any influential friends, to get a start, but after a time he secured a curacy under Mr. Dalton at Lambeth Parish Church, and he moved to London

with his three motherless children, his sister taking charge of the house for him."

Of his three sisters one had died young; another was Mrs. Hannah. His unmarried sister Juliana, who came to live with him now, was as hard and devoted a worker as himself. Not only did she now bring up his young children, but she was all her life a friend and servant of the poor. Stories are told of her which illustrate the strength of her character and the vigour of her common sense. Canon Bromfield, still vicar of St. Mary's, Lambeth, knew her work for thirty-four years, and tells of her wonderful energy and capacity. It was said of her (as of her brother) that she had never tampered with her conscience, and so black was always black to her and white white. After her brother left Lambeth she still continued to work there, living in the orphanage which she had started (thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Lyall) for girls to be trained as pupil teachers, most of whom were daughters of clergy, officers, and "upper class" people. Every day they had breakfast at 7, then went to matins at 8, before their day's work. Miss Gregory kept up this rule for herself to an advanced age, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that she was induced, when over eighty, to put off her breakfast till 8·30 — "it seemed so self-indulgent." She worked, like her brother, not only in the parish, but for the mission field, with immense energy. She gave away over a quarter of her small income, and was always "doing without" something so as to give away the money. Her niece tells two very

characteristic stories of her. She was a personage of highly energetic action, and once when conducting a Mothers' Meeting treat to a friend's house in the country, where it had been stipulated that no babies should be brought, she cast her eye round the railway carriage as the train started: "Mrs. Brown, you've brought your baby; I told you not to," and sweeping down on it, handed it through the window to the reluctant curate, who had come to the station to round up the party and see them off

A girl in whom she had been greatly interested attached herself some years later to the Salvation Army. After a while she went out of her mind, and the Salvation Army authorities came to Miss Gregory to ask her to provide for the girl, to which she replied: "No! you took her away to squall and bawl for you; and now she's squalling and bawling on her own account you can keep her."

It was indeed an energetic world which Mr. Gregory set moving at Lambeth. Thus the story of the life there is told.

Answering an advertisement in the *Guardian*, I had the offer of a curacy at Lambeth at the Parish Church, which I accepted, and on Advent Sunday, 1851, I commenced my duties as curate of Lambeth under the rector, the Reverend C. B. Dalton.[1] The work was necessarily very different

[1] Dr. Hannah, Dean of Chichester, says: "When my uncle first came to London as curate of Lambeth, he lived at 10 Lambeth Terrace, and he

from that which had hitherto fallen to my lot. There were in the parish about 15,000 people, and I had to look after a district containing about a third of that number, in addition to which the amount of surplice duty—baptisms, marriages, and funerals—was very considerable. I had also charge of a large boys' school, in which I regularly gave religious instruction. The problem of dealing with such a number of people was perplexing. To know them personally seemed out of the question. I did what I could. I endeavoured to make a speculum of my people, as I had done in previous curacies, but this was slow work. The routine work of the parish occupied much time; the sick demanded care and thought; then it was only one or two members of a family that I found at home; and, what was most trying of all, the people were incessantly moving, so that before every house in a street had been visited, a considerable percentage of its inhabitants had changed their abode; some had gone to other parishes, some into other streets in the parish or neighbourhood. Like all systematic work, it did some little good; it made the people feel that they were cared for, that the

continued to reside in that house for some time after he became incumbent of St. Mary's, until the parsonage for that living was built."

Church looked after them. It also compelled one to know that the great majority made no profession of religion, and though with very few exceptions the people welcomed and seemed grateful for the visits of a clergyman, these visits for the most part left no permanent impression. It compelled me to recognise some great defects of administration: amongst them was the considerable percentage of unbaptized children. I was anxious to check this by refusing to bury unbaptized children, and in all cases to require proof that a child had been baptized before allowing it to be buried with the rites of the Church. To this my rector objected, and as I felt that this might make it my duty to resign the curacy, I laid the question before two clerical friends, on whose judgment I relied. They both said the responsibility rested with the rector, not with me, and therefore it behoved me to act in the manner he directed, which I did, and remained.

The rector was in delicate health, so that a large proportion of the preaching fell to the share of the three curates, of whom I was the junior. It may give some idea of the churchmanship of the time to mention an experience I had. Seeking to point out a danger to which I thought the congregation was exposed, I spoke strongly about the

evil of mere formal religion, and that God's severest judgment would fall upon those who made a profession of religion whilst their practice did not correspond with their profession; an energetic member of the congregation disliked what had been said so much, that he made the church resound with violent kicks against the pew opposite to his own; and in a few days the churchwardens waited upon me to request that I would apologise and promise not to speak so in the future, or they must lay the matter before the bishop. This I begged them to do, as I certainly could not comply with their request. The bishop did not gratify them by condemning the sermon, but he recommended me to be more cautious in the future.

For two years I held this curacy. On Advent Sunday, 1853, I entered upon the incumbency of St. Mary the Less, Lambeth, to which the rector of Lambeth had presented me.[1] The parish contained about 15,000 people. With a few (possibly half a dozen) exceptions, they belonged to the labouring classes. The church possessed no attractions. It was one of the last built out of a grant from Parliament in the reign of George IV. It

[1] "This was a benefice," Dean Hannah says, "worth considerably less than his curacy;" in fact, "till he was appointed canon of St. Paul's, he hardly got bread and butter from the Church."

had been allowed to fall into a very undesirable condition; the walls and roof were dirty; there was no provision for heating it; in short, everything told of a neglected, poverty-stricken condition. There was no parsonage house. There was an endowment of £400 in the 3 per cent. consols, with a subscription of £60 a year, promised for three years more; and with fees and pew rents that raised the income to £90 a year. There were two schoolrooms adjoining the church, that were used for Sunday-schools, and one of them was lent to a dame who collected in it a few children on week days, and her income consisted of the pence they paid her. It need hardly be said that the attendance at church was very scanty.

The first duty was obvious. Until the church was made properly usable there was no hope of anything being effected. The good people of the mother parish that I was leaving and other friends kindly enabled me to accomplish this. The next point was to open the schools and make them attractive. This was done after the Christmas holidays. Under the care of a trained master and a trained mistress the two schools were opened, with three boys in one school, and three girls in the other, paying 6d. a week each;

for as at the time there was neither subscriber nor endowment, it seemed necessary to charge a fee that gave promise of the schools becoming to some extent self-supporting. At the end of the first quarter the numbers in each school had risen to thirteen; but the schoolmaster was so dissatisfied that he had not more children under his care that he left. At the suggestion of the Principal of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, I took a master who had recently passed the Government examination in the first division of the first class. Unfortunately he was no disciplinarian, and a few weeks after his taking charge of the school, Her Majesty's inspector, happening to pass the school, and, looking in, found the boys playing at leap-frog, and the master feebly remonstrating with them. There was no help for it, another change had to be made; and from that time forward the numbers grew, and both schools prospered.

Very similar success attended my efforts to form an art school in the parish. There were in it, and in the immediate neighbourhood, a considerable number of young mechanics, many of them employed in Maudslays' steam-engine factory, to whom it would prove a great advantage to be able to draw sufficiently to set out their

own work. At that time Mr. Cole,[1] as he then was, had commenced operations at the Science and Art Department, and was anxious to obtain a number of schools where drawing might be taught, the Department offering to provide a teacher. I accordingly sought an interview with him and offered to light one of my schoolrooms in any way he wished, provided that he would approve of it for evening classes to be taught drawing. To this he readily consented, and a commencement was made in the late autumn, under the direction of a committee of gentlemen, who had kindly agreed to help and bear their share of the responsibility. The first two masters were only moderately successful; but after a time Mr. Sparkes was placed in charge of the school, and under him it rapidly grew and flourished, and in the course of years the success of the school raised a new difficulty. The accommodation was insufficient; and what made the matter still more trying, the master of the day school complained every morning that the evening classes had utterly disarranged his room, whilst in the evening the art schoolmaster made a somewhat similar complaint of what was done

[1] Afterwards Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B. (1808–1882), was, among many other public activities, secretary of the Science and Art Department from 1853 to 1873.

by the elementary schoolmaster. Fortunately, Vauxhall Gardens, which were in my parish, were being sold for building sites, and we were able to purchase what was required for the site of an art school—the first in London. Towards the building of this the Art Department made a grant of about the fourth of the sum required; and we had to agree about the terms of the trust-deed. I insisted that the clergyman of the parish should always be chairman of the Committee of Management. The other members of the committee were quite satisfied that I should be chairman as long as I was vicar, but that on my leaving they should be free to elect whomsoever they chose. To this I would not consent, and so they all resigned. This placed me in a considerable difficulty, as the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII.) had kindly promised to lay the first stone before he started for Canada. Under these somewhat untoward circumstances the first stone was laid, and the trust-deed was completed. However, after a short time the difficulty was overcome. My kind friends resumed their offices as members of the committee; the requisite funds were raised, and the building was completed. In it we had day as well as evening classes, and the history of the school has been most satisfactory; many

of our students gained the gold and silver medals at the Royal Academy; some of them became very distinguished, Mr. Ouless (one of these) being numbered amongst the most eminent portrait painters and Royal Academicians; and Tinworth (another of them) being well known for his beautiful productions in terra-cotta and other ware. Moreover, Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Doulton, who was one of the Committee of Managers, was persuaded by Mr. Sparkes, the master of the school, to recommence ornamental earthenware productions, for which Lambeth had once been famous, in order to find employment for students in the school; so that the Doulton pottery ware had its origin from the school and its pupils.

The poverty of the parish was a difficulty that had to be seriously considered. The applications for assistance were numerous, and the amount of apparent destitution was great. With the help of some energetic friends, and especially of Mr. Burnett, whose distillery works and residence were in the parish, we opened a soup kitchen in the winter, and we had a system of furnishing the poor women with one day's work in the week, for which we paid them eighteenpence, and then disposed of the articles they had made, at

little more than the cost price of the material, to the poor people of the parish. The success of this society led us to make application to the Government Clothing Department for a portion of the contracts they had to give out for clothing for the soldiers. We found that the ordinary contractors were miserably under-paying the women who worked for them, and we could without loss pay them double what they were receiving. We accordingly undertook as large a portion of the contracts for shirts and great-coats as the Clothing Department was willing to entrust to us. One year we made 100,000 shirts and several thousand great-coats, and for some years the amount of work of this kind that our poor parishioners performed fell little short of the quantity just named. We were fortunate in having a most able and efficient lady as overlooker, and to her firmness and kindness this most valuable effort for relieving the poverty of the parish largely owed its success. Unfortunately some other parochial institutions of the kind were not so well managed, and eventually the Government erected more extensive premises for carrying out the work, and ceased to give out contracts. My parish was one of the last that was deprived of its work, as our admirable overseer was per-

suaded to undertake the same office for the Central Government Stores that she had for some years performed for us; and thus many of the women who had been helped with work from our institution continued to have work provided for them at the Government establishment.

Another work that occupied my attention soon after my appointment was the erection of a parsonage.[1] There was no house near the church that I could rent in which I could live with my family. We had services twice daily in the church, and it was on every account desirable that the pastor should live amongst the people for whom he had to care. With only one curate to help me, there was more work than could be properly done, so that it was essential that there should be the least possible waste of power and energy. A house standing upon rather more ground than the other cottages in the same street with the church was purchased, pulled down, and a good parsonage built on the site.

The special difficulty of the parish that was never really overcome during the twenty years that I was incumbent was attracting the people to church. They had lost the habit of attending public worship, and it seemed as though nothing

[1] See above, p. 52, note.

would enable them to recover it. The influence of the church was felt in a variety of ways through the parish, but it never secured a really good attendance at the services. The church was not well placed; it was at the corner of the parish, close to Lambeth Walk, a street full of shops of all kinds, in which more business was done on a Sunday morning than at any other time in the week, and yet, though it was so near to the church, was itself not in the parish; this was a hindrance, whilst the absence of a middle-class population deprived the church of the influence which persons of a somewhat superior position of life do exert over their poorer neighbours.

It was impossible not to feel that the insufficient income provided for the incumbent of my own parish and for several of those in the rural deanery was a hindrance to the influence of the church. Up to that time the Ecclesiastical Commission had very usefully applied such funds as were then at its disposal to laying the foundation of new parishes, by providing an income of £150 a year for places where new churches were most wanted, and in encouraging private gifts for the endowment of poor parishes by doubling the sums contributed by benefactors. For the churches in South London it seemed as though nothing would

be done, as there were no wealthy residents in the parishes, and no Church authority seemed disposed to take the matter in hand. I therefore ventured to propose that the clergy of the deanery, then comprising fifty ecclesiastical parishes or more, should take action, and do something to show that they were alive to the needs of the poorer parishes, if they could do nothing more. The plan proposed was warmly taken up, and in every church in the deanery but one, there was to be annually a collection for the fund, which realised a very considerable sum. This was offered to some of the poorest parishes upon the condition that they raised a sum equal to that given out of the general fund, and then the whole amount was offered to the Ecclesiastical Commission and was doubled by them. Several parishes were thus materially helped during the two years that the association was in existence. At that time the archdeacon, supported by the bishop, started an association for raising funds to help to build churches and endow them, and to provide schools. As two associations for a similar purpose in the same diocese would have fatally injured each other, the Ruri-decanal Association ceased to exist. But nothing more was done for the augmenta-

tion of poor benefices; and after a time the Ecclesiastical Commission endowed several of them without the help of private contributions. The success of our local association had, however, the happy effect of stimulating a few other dioceses to undertake the same work, either at the time or subsequently.

Shortly after I was inducted incumbent of St. Mary the Less, a decision of the Court of Chancery respecting some local charities placed the district parishes in a much better position than they had previously been. These had hitherto belonged exclusively to the Parish Church; they were now to be divided with the district parishes. These charities—Walcot and Hayles—consisted of land that had been given a long time previously for charitable purposes, and upon which houses had been erected. The leases had expired, and the charities, having come into possession of the rack rents of the houses, were very rich; by a decree of the Court of Chancery, the money was to be employed in accordance with the wills of the testators, partly in supporting schools for the education of the poor, and partly in providing pensions for poor inhabitants of Lambeth. By this decree my parish came into possession of about £100

a year for the furtherance of education. With this prospect it was clear that we might venture to increase the number of our schools. Until new premises could be built, we rented a schoolroom attached to a dissenting chapel. Vauxhall Gardens, that were in my Parish, were being sold for building purposes; I therefore applied to the owner to sell me land for the site of the new schools. To this he readily assented; when the transaction was completed, he said that he had always desired to give a site for a church, but it must be on the condition that all the seats were free and unappropriated. With the considerable increase of population that covering the garden with houses was certain to bring, it was obvious that a new church would be needed; I therefore gladly accepted his offer, and upon the site he gave the church of St. Peter's, Vauxhall, now stands. He further said that I might select any part of the gardens I liked for the site of the church, that the manager's house would be pulled down, so that I might have that corner if I preferred it. I inquired whether he would sell the manager's house, for a parsonage, at a price of the land on which it stood, and the value of the building viewed as old material.

To this he cordially assented, so that for £600 (which was generously given for the purpose by a liberal Churchman, Mr. R. Foster) an excellent parsonage was secured, and the church was to be placed on the adjoining plot, and the new schools were to stand immediately behind both.

In a comparatively short time excellent schools for 800 children, with a master's house, were built, and, in close proximity to it, the Art School, which has already been mentioned, was subsequently erected. The foundation of the Art School was laid by the Prince of Wales, before his tour in America, and was the first of the many acts of the kind that were performed by his Royal Highness. On the northern side of the church, the parsonage being on the southern side, an orphanage was erected, a few years later, for the benefit of orphan daughters of professional men, who might wish to be prepared for the office of teachers in elementary schools. The girls were to be apprenticed as pupil teachers, and their salaries for that position were to be applied towards the cost of their maintenance, as the orphanage had no endowment. The cost of the building was generously given by Mrs. Lyall, the widow of a late Dean of Canterbury; and my unmarried

sister undertook the management and provided what funds were needed for its maintenance.

This provision for the education of the children of the parish did not satisfy me. The population belonged almost exclusively to the hand-labouring classes: but then these classes included men in very different positions; some were foremen or skilled artisans earning high wages; others were of the ordinary type of labourers, who had no knowledge of any trade, and whose earnings were on a much more moderate scale; whilst, again, there were others of the poorest classes, having only irregular employment. It seemed desirable to have schools adapted to all these classes; in the new schools, built on Vauxhall Gardens, we charged a weekly fee of sixpence; in the old schools, that were first opened, the charge was threepence; and in the poorest portion of the parish, called Salamanca, I was anxious to erect a school where the charge should be only a penny a week. This was eventually secured. In the higher schools we taught more advanced subjects, and as early as 1862 or 1863 the highest class of girls were for a time taught cookery, long before instruction was given in the culinary art in any other school, but the experiment was not successful: the

parents of the children complained that they sent their children to school to learn to read, to write, and to do sums: and if they must be taught cookery they would remove them to other schools; and so rather than lose the older girls from the school, the experiment was abandoned.

Adjoining the schools we erected a building, the upper portions of which was devoted to carrying on the Army work, which has been already described, and some parochial institutions; the lower storey was fitted up for the cooking kitchen, in which the lessons just named were given, and in the winter months was used as a soup kitchen. One year there were efforts made in some parts of London to provide very cheap dinners for working people. We determined to make the experiment in the excellent premises we had for the purpose, but this was a failure; there were no large factories working near us, and consequently no sufficient supply of working people needing the accommodation.

Another failure we had in the same building. We tried a Working Men's Club for some two or three years. At first it promised to be successful, but the theory then was that to make such clubs successful they must be managed almost exclusively

by working men. We tried this principle, and it undoubtedly led to failure. Working men with one or two more educated persons to assist them would probably succeed; but when left entirely to them, little jealousies arose, disputes sprang up about trifles, the minority who could not get their own way left the club, and so from various causes of the kind, our club did not succeed, and we were compelled to close it.

Another school had yet to be built. Those we had were well filled, but we had not adequate accommodation for the infants. So before the Education Act of 1870 was passed we built a large boys' schoolroom, to which we removed the boys from the school adjoining the church, and turned their schoolroom into one for infants. We had thus accommodation for about 1800 children, and with the aid of the Government Grants, the endowments which have been mentioned, and subscriptions, we had no great difficulty in maintaining them and making them thoroughly efficient.

Some twenty-five years after this last school had been built, and after I had left Lambeth, I was invited by the incumbent of a parish bordering on my old one to speak at a meeting of his parishioners, whom he was calling together to make extensive additions to the school accommodation of his

parish. At this meeting I told of the small beginnings of popular education in my old parish, when two men jumped up and said: "We were two of the boys that made up the thirteen at the end of the first quarter." They had both risen to positions of some influence, and were prospering in the world, bearing a high character. It has been a source of special satisfaction to me to know how many of the children educated in the schools in which I was interested turned out well in after life, and proved by their subsequent conduct that the religious truths planted in their hearts when they were at school had assisted in the formation of a high moral and religious character. It hardly needs to be said that the true test of the excellency of a school is much more accurately measured by the manner in which its pupils fulfil their duties when they have grown to maturity, than by their immediate success in passing standard examinations.

There were two other objects in which I also became interested. The one was the improvement of the Lambeth workhouse, which was in my parish, just opposite the church. The Guardians had a profound dislike to external interference and did their best to hinder people from the outside knowing what was being done. Miss Louisa Twining was at the time labouring to induce

ladies to take an interest in the inmates of such institutions by reading to the sick, and showing sympathy in various ways to those who had no friends of their own. I remember attending a meeting of the Guardians, many of whom I knew, to urge her request to be allowed to send visitors for these good purposes. After I had withdrawn the Guardians talked the matter over, and I was then told that they had unanimously agreed to reject her request, because when she was allowed to go over the workhouse some time before, she had called the attention of some of the friends who were with her to obvious defects in the management.

The other object was the rescue of fallen women. A dear good friend of mine had undertaken the charge of a penitentiary, and it had been publicly asserted that numbers of the unhappy women would gladly leave their miserable life, if it could be shown to them that they would be cared for and helped. In consequence my friend and I for many nights walked about Regent Street and the Haymarket from 9 o'clock at night till 2 o'clock in the morning trying to persuade the fallen women who were plying their infamous vocation or rather seeking for opportunities to do so, to enter into a penitentiary. Some of them stayed for a time

and listened to what we had to say; but the results were most unsatisfactory. One or two were persuaded to go into refuges; but so far as I recollect, they grew tired of the restraint in a day or two and left to resume their old course of life. What I saw convinced me that such personal appeals as we endeavoured to make to them were useless. There must be first a movement of their own will to desire to leave off their evil life, before there can be ground for hope that they will make a real effort to amend their ways.

I am not aware that there was anything exceptional in the manner in which the parish was administered I was blessed with exceptionally good curates, one and all of whom did their work in an exemplary way. At first there was only one to assist me, but after St. Peter's Church had been built, and made the centre of a legally constituted district parish, there were eight clergymen working in what had formed my parish when I was appointed. And ten years after I came into the parish the Ecclesiastical Commissioners raised the income of the incumbent to £300 a year. Of course there were Bible classes, gatherings of old boys, communicant and pupil teachers' classes, clothing clubs, a penny bank, a small band of district visitors, an insufficient number of Sunday

school teachers, and incessant efforts to make these various organisations more efficient; but in spite of all that was done, the attendance of the people at church was never satisfactory.

He was indeed a devoted parish priest. Truly says his nephew, "his whole interest in life was absorbed in his work of various kinds, and he had absolutely no idea of pleasure or amusement in anything outside their scope. Even when he took his annual holiday, he got it by taking duty in some country parish, and getting the use of the vicarage in exchange. But he did this more for the sake of his family than himself, and was always only too ready to return to the slums of Lambeth, or the intricate lanes of the City, as the case might be." The church which he found was built in 1828, and in the curious taste of that period. He transformed it. He also built besides St. Peter's Church, St. Peter's School, the School of Art, the Orphanage, the Soup Kitchen, with club-room over it—all now in St. Peter's Parish. The present vicar of St. Mary's, the Rev. G. H. W. Bromfield, writes:—"He built in this parish Salamanca School *Church* and Sancroft Street School *Church*. There have been services ever since. The latter has been developing for many years, and we hope will soon develop into St. Anselm's Church." Well might Archbishop Sumner, who laid the foundation stone of St. Peter's Church, call Gregory "The Queen Bee of my diocese."

Among his curates were Mr. Arthur Tooth, who seems to have found the work too hard and left suddenly; Mr. Stephen Gladstone, of whom more later; and Mr. R. W. Dixon, historian and poet. The last was one day discovered lying flat on the ground in the vestry making verses, and when asked if it was not an uncomfortable position, replied, "Oh, no! I was absorbed in the Infinite." Devoted though Mr. Gregory was to his own parish, it was not long before he found it impossible to restrict his interests to its limits. Thus he continues:

After I had been in Lambeth some years I was invited to become a member of the Standing Committee of S.P.G. I felt that there would be an attraction in such work that would necessarily draw off my thoughts and attention from my parish, and occupy an amount of time that might profitably be expended in looking after the people who were placed under my charge, and for whom I was responsible, and so I declined. The following year I was asked to join the Committee of the Additional Curates Society, and again I declined. My old rector, Mr. Dalton, then came to me and said, "Are you right in refusing? The Society provides you with funds to enable two additional clergymen to be employed in your parish, and the Committee think that you can be of service to the

Society by joining them. Is it right for you to accept the benefit and refuse the service to which you are invited?" I felt the force of what he said, and I withdrew my refusal, and for many years took an active part in managing the affairs of the Society. When the Rubicon was once passed I felt unable to refuse similar invitations from other societies in which I felt a great interest, and in 1865 I became a member of the Standing Committee of S.P.G. and in 1860 a member of the Committee of the National Society; and of this last-named Society I was chosen to be the treasurer in 1869, and in its affairs I have taken a lively and active interest ever since. Of my connection with this Society I shall have more to say presently.

I cannot refrain from inserting here, from the minutes of the S.P.G., the resolution in which his services were commemorated:—

"The members of the Society assembled in the monthly meeting of the Society, on Friday, October 20, 1911, in the Society's House, desire to record their reverence and respect for the life work of the late Robert Gregory, D.D., up to within a short time of his death Dean of St. Paul's.

"Spared to work for his Divine Master in the Church till his ninety-third year, he was ever one

of the staunchest supporters of the Society, bringing to its council board his remarkable business aptitude with signal advantage to its work abroad.

"Becoming an incorporated member in 1856, a member of the Standing Committee in 1865, and a vice-president in 1871, he was nearly the Society's oldest member, and retained his affection for it to the last.

"In 1904 he had the joy of seeing his missionary son raised to the episcopate as Bishop of Mauritius. The Society begs to assure his family of its lasting gratitude towards one of its most honoured members."

The autobiography now turns to political matters, and nothing could better illustrate Dr. Gregory's attitude towards politics than the story which follows.

I was somewhat amused at a political event which happened early in 1865. Mr. Thomas Hughes (author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*) was anxious to represent Lambeth in Parliament. He had probably held communications with members of his own party; but how this might be I do not know; but he was anxious to be introduced to the constituency at a public meeting by one of the clergy of the borough. He came to solicit me (though quite unknown to him) to undertake this office. He said: "We are pro-

bably not of the same politics, but if you would introduce me, I would make this arrangement with you. I would undertake to work in ways that would please you in matters relating to the Church, whilst in all other matters I should freely take my own line." My answer to him at once was, "I do not believe in such transactions; I can have nothing to do with such a proposal." Upon which he went to another clergyman, who did what he wanted. A few months later he became one of the members for the borough, after which he retired from Parliament.

Two interesting letters show that Mr. Gregory's doubts of Mr. Gladstone's political position had begun at least as early as 1859, when that statesman was seen by acute observers to be on the verge of junction with the Liberals. On June 11 the Derby Ministry was defeated in the Commons. On that day Mr. Gregory wrote to the Burgess for the University of Oxford, who voted with the Government in the critical division, and two days later he was answered. The two letters speak for themselves.

"St. Mary's Parsonage,
Lambeth, 11*th June* 1859.

"My dear Sir,—It is with considerable hesitation that I write to you, but I venture to do so, as I know that it is sometimes difficult to ascertain

what those beneath us think, and because it may possibly be of some importance to you to know the opinion of some of your constituents. In the present political crisis we are all assured that your presence will be eagerly sought by the Cabinet which is about to be formed; whilst I imagine that you would be unwilling to join it, it may strengthen your resolution to know what effect, in the opinion of an active supporter, such a step would be likely to have on your re-election. I voted for you when you were first proposed for the University, and have been steadfast in my allegiance throughout; besides this, I have canvassed for you at every election, and induced several of my friends to vote for you. Should there now be a contest, besides my own vote, two of my present curates and a late curate would be tolerably sure to vote as I advised. I only mention these things to justify my now writing to say that, should you become a member of a Cabinet in any way resembling that which was shadowed forth in one of the weekly papers, I should be under the most unpleasant necessity of being no longer among those on whose aid you can rely; and, as I have reason to think that in such a course I should be joined by many of your oldest and staunchest supporters, I have little doubt that your success would be imperilled if a candidate at all eligible should oppose you. It would give me the greatest pain not to be found among your upholders, because there is no statesman in whose integrity, singleness of purpose, and religious as well as political principles I have so

much confidence. But as it seems probable, in the present state of political parties, that Mr. Bright must have the fate of the incoming ministry in his hands, it is almost inevitable that the measures they will submit to Parliament must be so framed as to secure his support; and therefore I should feel it my duty to use whatever little influence I may possess in the manner most likely to be prejudicial to a Government holding power under such auspices. Trusting that you will kindly excuse my thus troubling you, and that you will attribute my doing so to its real cause—a most sincere anxiety that your present connexion with Oxford may never be severed as long as you live,—I remain, my dear Sir, your obedient servant.

"ROBT. GREGORY.

"Rt. Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE."

The answer follows:—

"11 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, *June* 13, '59.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you very much for your letter, of which it is impossible to mistake the kind intention. I am glad of every aid in the difficult work of guiding my conduct at this period of public exigency and political disorganisation, and no aid can be more legitimate, or more acceptable, than such as you tender me. The statesmen who displaced Lord Derby's Government are under no obligations to me for assistance, and I have no means of knowing whether any co-operation will be sought from me in the new Government. If it should not, I shall look with favour

upon the intentions, particularly as to foreign policy, with which it is likely to be formed. If it should, I can, I fear, give no other pledge than that I shall endeavour to be guided in my reply by the same principles as have hitherto governed me.

"I thank you most sincerely for the sentiments you are good enough to express, and I remain very faithfully yours. W. E. GLADSTONE."

During the years which followed, the opinions of Mr. Gladstone became even more and more opposed to those in which Mr. Gregory was unalterably fixed. The next passage of the autobiography excites no surprise.

In 1864 there was a meeting of several Conservative gentlemen connected with the University at Oxford, when it was determined to bring forward Mr. Gathorne Hardy in opposition to Mr. Gladstone, whenever there should be a dissolution of Parliament, which it was then thought could not be very distant. At every election since he was first chosen, Mr. Gladstone had been opposed, and at all of them I had travelled up from the country and voted for him. When it was first proposed to bring him forward to represent the University, I happened to be at Oxford, and I was one of a small party who met at the Angel Hotel to ask him to become a candidate. It was then

said, "Peel has deceived us, but Gladstone is a Tory to the backbone." As he gradually drifted from his old moorings under the influence of the party divisions caused by the introduction of the question of Free Trade,[1] I had lost confidence in him, and I had resolved that, for the future, I was not to be numbered amongst his supporters. At the meeting just mentioned I was not present; in fact, I had not been invited to be present; but, immediately after it had been held, one or two of my friends who were there wrote and asked if I would support Mr. Hardy.[2] This I promised to do. The mode of procedure resolved on was to get up an address to Mr. Hardy as numerously signed as could be by the electors, inviting him to become a candidate. Into this struggle I threw myself heartily, and I wrote many scores, if not hundreds, of letters to members of the University, asking them to sign the memorial. The appeal was very successful, and the number of electors who thus pledged themselves to support Mr. Hardy gave good promise that he would win the seat. When a dissolution was announced, Mr. Hardy's supporters met to formally appoint an

[1] Dr. Gregory was a Protectionist all his life. He watched with interest, not unmixed with a sense of triumph, his party returning to what had always been his principles.

[2] Afterwards Earl of Cranbrook.

election Committee. At this meeting, on the motion of Lord Robert Cecil (now Lord Salisbury),[1] Sir John Mowbray was made chairman, and, to my great surprise, I was made one of the two vice-chairmen, under the idea that I should represent the High Church party, and my colleague, the Reverend Charles Oakley, Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, the Low Church party. Most of the leading Tractarians were personal friends of Mr. Gladstone's, and were members of his Committee. At the General Election Mr. Gladstone's connection with Oxford as its representative in Parliament was severed.[2]

It is a fit commentary on this divergence between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Gregory, redounding to the honour of both men, that when the son of the former was to be ordained it was to the latter as curate that his father wished him to go. The ancient Toryism of the vicar never interfered with the modern Liberalism of the curate. They worked together with unbroken affection and unstinted energy.

The theology of Mr. Gladstone was, of course, in close accord with that of Mr. Gregory. At the ordination examination, when Mr. Stephen Gladstone was a candidate, there was some fear,

[1] The late Marquess.

[2] The poll was declared on July 18, 1865:—Heathcote, 3236; Gathorne Hardy, 1904; Gladstone, 1724.

for a rumour got about that, the time before, a man had been "plucked" for "High Church leanings." Mr. Gregory evidently thought there was something in it, for he wrote to the Archdeacon and said that after So-and-So had been rejected he thought it very probable that Stephen Gladstone might meet the same fate; if he did, said Mr. Gregory, he should at once resign his benefice and state his reason publicly. He had some reason for his apprehension of unfairness, for about this time the Archdeacon, distrusting some alteration he had made, determined to investigate it, and did so in a scarcely straightforward manner, but with an unexpected result. He appointed a meeting in the church at 10.30 with the Vicar, and at 10 o'clock with the churchwardens, two small Lambeth tradesmen. When Mr. Gregory appeared in the church at 10.30, not knowing of the previous assignation, the Archdeacon greeted him with, "Oh, here you are, Mr. Gregory. I have been trying this last half-hour to talk to your two churchwardens about this alteration you have made, and all I can get out of them is, 'If Mr. Gregory says so, it *must* be right.'" This was the very natural result of the cordial relations he always had with those who worked with him, or under him, in the church. It was so, one may interject here, to the end of his life. "At St. Paul's, the head virger, when lamenting his absence in his long illness and saying how he missed him, epitomised it by saying, 'The Dean always knew all about everything.' He always

used to consult those under him about any order that they would have to carry out, and listened with interest to any difficulties or objections they might see in executing it, so that when the matter was settled the orders were carried out whole-heartedly."

There was nothing more striking in his way of working than the way in which he took those who worked with him into his confidence. I cannot illustrate this better than in the words in which Mr. Stephen Gladstone, in sending to me a short letter on the parish work at Lambeth, tells of his transparent sincerity :—

"Not long after I became Curate, on a Sunday evening walk, Canon Gregory told me this, and it greatly impressed me, as it seemed to speak so highly to his honour. He said a man called on him and asked him to hear his confession. Canon Gregory at once felt, How can I receive another's when I have never made my own? He asked the man to call again in a few days, and arranged in the interval to seek the same help for himself before his visitor returned."

Mr. Stephen Gladstone's description of the work at Lambeth and the character of the Vicar may fitly conclude this chapter.

"Canon Gregory in the sixties, when I had the privilege of working with him, was a devoted and indefatigable parish priest, manly, many sided, keen and clear-sighted, full of resource, never baffled in his large and poor parish, trustful and generous-hearted, always busy but never in a hurry, ever ready to listen and advise. He told

me he never went to bed and left a letter unanswered. As his public work grew he enlarged his staff so as to ensure the best for his 10,000 parishioners. He was glad to co-operate with men of very diverse opinions, being himself broad-minded, and ready to learn as well as to rule. As a business man he gained influence with many who by their liberal gifts enabled him to provide that teeming district, not only with churches and mission rooms, but also with schools of different grades, enabling a poor boy with gifts to rise by degrees till (as happened in some cases) he could be sent to the university. Certainly he was one of the very earliest pioneers in the field of popular education. His foundation of a large art school was another illustration of this. He had also built and endowed a beautiful church (St. Peter's, Vauxhall) in those early days. He had been himself constant in religious teaching in his schools, an unwearied visitor, a most generous friend of the poor, an outdoor preacher, and, with the help of a large staff of lay helpers, the organiser of all sorts of parochial good works. His whole heart was set on the good of the people. Except for his yearly holiday he never seemed to relax his unselfish energies. All was done, not only with the highest purpose, but with his irrepressible brightness, humour, and tact, and of parish quarrels or misunderstandings we never heard. He won the love as well as the respect of all."

CHAPTER III

WIDER ACTIVITIES, 1867–1900

The "troubles of the Church,"—a phrase which so often means that people squabble about unimportant matters—now issued in a Royal Commission, appointed on June 3, 1867, to examine the rubrics and deal with the Lectionary. Bishop Wilberforce, writing to Mr. Gregory's old Lincolnshire friend Sir Charles Anderson, says: "I have no patience with our being driven to legislate, to put ourselves into the utterly false position of asking for more power from the House of Commons, tying up the future expansive power of the Church of England, destroying the liberty of congregations and the restraining and directing power of the bishops." He hoped that a Commission might be a way out of difficulties.

On it sat a large number of persons representing all sorts of views. Among the prelates were Archbishop Longley and Bishops Ellicott, Wilberforce, Tait, and Thirlwall: lawyers and clergymen of different views balanced each other, and there was Dean Stanley to puzzle them all. Mr. Gregory thus tells his share in the work.

About the same time I was placed on the Ritual Commission, which was asked for in order to stave off Parliamentary interference with the

services of the Church until the whole question had been thoroughly examined. There was a great outcry against a number of practices which have since become quite common, and which differed essentially from observances introduced a quarter of a century later, some of which were undoubtedly Romish, whilst others of them seemed to me puerile and childish, and which, so far as I could see, could never by any possibility tend to spiritual edification. But between 1860 and 1870 great efforts were made by the Puritanical party to resist and uproot whatsoever was advocated by the Tractarians. Instead of confining their opposition to points where they had the law undoubtedly on their side, they raised an outcry against everything that they did not themselves practise. And in this it must be sorrowfully said, they were encouraged by the Courts of Law, and by some of the bishops. The Gorham judgment, given a few years earlier, would rival in its injustice the decisions of any law courts that ever had been subservient to external influences. In this case the desire was to please the popular voice; at other periods it has been the wish of the King or of influential courtiers that had to be gratified. Following upon this decision there were others, chiefly

relating to St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and St. Barnabas', Pimlico, that stimulated the desire for drastic proceedings against the High Church party and all their principles and doings. So bad had the outcry become, that it was feared the Archbishop (Longley) might yield to an extent which would threaten a serious schism in the Church. To stave off immediate action and to give time for calm and serious thought, it was determined to appoint a Royal Commission (it was generally supposed that this was done at the suggestion of Bishop Wilberforce) to examine the Ritual directions contained in the Prayer-book, and to see how far they were capable of bearing the constructions put upon them by different parties in the Church, and whether by legislation or otherwise improvements could be introduced that would calm the excitement that was then agitating the country. The Commission sat for three years and a half, and certainly succeeded in accomplishing one of the ends for which it was appointed. It gave time for reflection; and, during the interval between its appointment and final report, the country had to some extent come to learn the dangers that were involved in such legislation as the Puritan party desired, and had ceased to wish for Parliament to interfere with the existing

directions contained in the Prayer-book. The only legislation that issued from its deliberations was a revised table of Lessons which considerably diminished the amount of Holy Scripture read in Church.[1] In the discussion of this part of the work of the Commission I had no share; for, not expecting that the Commission would meet during the last months of the year, I had gone to Italy. From no other of its meetings was I absent. On the Commission I was one of a comparatively small minority; we met at breakfast, generally at Lord Beauchamp's on the days when the Commission sat, and arranged our proceedings with respect to the business that was to come before us. Beyond the two points I have named, I doubt whether the Commission did either good or harm; but its extended sittings greatly diminished popular interest in the work on which it was engaged, and the amusing thing was that the delay in making a report was due in no inconsiderable measure to the long and weary harangues of some of its members, notably Lord Harrowby, who were perpetually urging the duty of making rapid progress. Along with others I was unable to

[1] The Dean particularly disliked all abbreviations of the service, and once, in some place where they were staying, said to his nephew, Dr. Julius Hannah, "You will come to Matins with me, Julius, I suppose, though they do give you only a mouthful of prayers."

sign some of the later reports, and I gave my reasons for so doing.

Whilst this Commission was sitting, I was elected a Proctor in Convocation, for the clergy in the Archdeaconry of Surrey. The events that led to my election were peculiar. Prebendary Randolph, Rector of Sanderstead, was our representative; and I had on one or more elections taken an active part in securing his success. One day, happening to pass near Dean's Yard, it occurred to me to look into the Jerusalem Chamber, where I knew Convocation must be then sitting. Randolph saw me, and came to where I was sitting and said, "I never mean to come here again; I shall resign. You ought to be Proctor." I said, "Don't do that. If you resign, I shall not be a candidate; we have arranged with Dupuis, Vicar of Richmond, that he shall come forward when you retire. My benefice is such an unimportant one, the Surrey clergy would think it a presumption on my part to seek the office." Coming out of Convocation, almost the first person I met was Dupuis. I told him what Randolph had just said, and added that we should of course look to him to champion our cause: with the thought of which he was much pleased. I never saw either of them again.

Within the next three months both died: there

was no prominent person in the Archdeaconry to undertake the office, and for lack of a better candidate I was proposed and elected by a majority of two; so far as I can remember, the numbers were 43 and 41, Mr. Garbett being my opponent. Parliament was dissolved before Convocation met again, so that I had to stand a second election before I took my seat, the majority at the second election being the same as at the first, and my opponent being the same. I was re-elected once more for Surrey. After that, having resigned my benefice in the diocese, and become a canon of St. Paul's, I was elected by the Chapter of St. Paul's to represent them, which I did until I had an *ex officio* seat as Dean. I think I attended every session of Convocation, and took an active part in many of its discussions, and for one group of Sessions I occupied the chair, as Deputy-prolocutor at the request of the Prolocutor, as he had met with an accident which made it impossible for him to be present. It is unnecessary for me to say anything here about what I said and did in Convocation. That is recorded in the *Chronicle*, and I may return to the subject later on.

But something must be said of the great part Dr. Gregory played for many years in the assembly

of the Church. To recall the work he did in the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation would be to tell again the story of the controversies of more than thirty years, for in almost all of them he was a prominent actor. Not that he was by choice a controversialist: far from it. But his strong sense of justice, his abounding energy, and his intense interest in all that concerned the efficiency of the Church, urged him forward again and again, and his sterling character soon won for him a place of something like predominance in the House. In 1879 Dr. A. Blomfield, afterwards Bishop-suffragan of Colchester, wrote some clever lines of "Sketches in Convocations," in which are embalmed the memories of many notable men, such as Denison, and Harrison, and the gracious Lord Alwyne Compton, "th' unwearied chairman of defunct committees." The climax of the record comes with the lines which describe Mr. Gregory:—

"St. Paul's great Proctor last in view appears,
And tones Gregorian rouse our flagging ears,
With facile humour versatile, to steer
From 'grave to gay, from lively to severe.'
With plain good sense and homely wisdom strong;
When brief, yet clear; and not a bore when long;
Full oft his brethren's suffrages he gains,
States strong convictions, yet excess restrains;
Strikes the nice balance, with adjustment keen,
And hits with happy tact the golden mean.
But if o'erpowering numbers turn the scale,
Willing to conquer, yet content to fail,
See him with ready smile the verdict meet,
Good-humoured, or in triumph, or defeat."

As a prose pendant to this, let me add the memories which have been furnished me by Dr. R. E. Sanderson, who was long his friend and companion in the House. He says:—"What a newly-elected Proctor would naturally endeavour and be most likely to estimate, as far as possible, would be the influence of individual members of the House—how far it would be certain to prevail, and the reasons why they were prominent members. There can, I think, be no sort of doubt that Dean Gregory had more the ear of the House, and influence over the House at that time, than any other member. It is now more than twenty years ago. But I have not forgotten the conviction with which this impression was forced upon me. This influence which he held over this House, I noticed was due not so much to any eloquence on his part as to the subject-matter of his speeches and his manner of speaking. Whenever he spoke it was obvious that he was speaking from conviction. He was evidently basing what he said on genuine opinions, resting upon a long experience, and upon strong personal belief. It was also notable that he was recommending what was practical prudence and clear common sense. He never attempted to make speeches. He spoke and kept to the point, and was never tempted to swerve from it. He seemed carefully to avoid such a thing as oratory.

"And this was exactly what the House then most needed. For the temptation (and, all things considered, it was a very natural temptation) which beset many members was to display their eloquence,

and so to stray from the points really at issue. It was said, *e.g.*, eminently of one really eloquent Proctor, that he won by his oratory the admiration and attention of the whole House, but never secured their votes.

"Dean Gregory's manner of sentences was, on the other hand, as rugged as was the tone of his voice. His sentences were short and crisp, and therefore, though perfectly intelligible and to the point, they required close attention. He seemed to be quite at his ease while speaking. Yet every one of his hearers was convinced that he was giving expression to his real thoughts. He never paused for lack of words, and he never repeated himself. And this mode of utterance was just the style and matter which would attract the acceptance of such an audience as the Proctors in Convocation.

"When advance of years perhaps, and, it may be, the growth of the wide and chequered influence of St. Paul's, demanded his more continued presence at his Cathedral, and he became less regular in his attendance in Convocation, it was a most serious loss to the debates, and perhaps is still felt to be so by those who are among the senior Proctors of the House."

Dr. Hannah says of his work in Convocation that "he loved it with almost a parent's fond affection," and adds: "At Convocation time numerous and largely attended were the dinner parties at the Deanery, and on one occasion when my aunt was ordering for a dinner party, the cook is reported to have asked, "Please, ma'am, is this to be a dinner for ladies and gentlemen, or for those

Convocation people?" So deeply had he imbued his family with the importance of that venerable assembly that his little daughter is said to have spoken in the sternest condemnation of some clergyman of their acquaintance, "Why, he interrupted father when he was talking about Convocation."

Apropos of interrupting, Dr. Gregory was himself on one famous occasion called upon himself to exercise that weapon. A certain speaker (said to be an eminent archdeacon who died many years ago—and archdeacons are generally understood to be bores) got up again and again. At one meeting they counted him doing so seventy times. All were in despair: "How can we stop him?" "Stop him?" said Mr. Gregory, "I'll stop him." The next time the archdeacon arose he was pulled by the coat-tails and a voice said, "My dear old friend, when ARE you going to sit down?" He sat down instantly, and without offence.

Testimonials to the influence he exercised in Convocation are overwhelming. I will only select a simple letter from Dean Church, who weighed his words more carefully than any other man of his day—a letter, too, which shows the affectionate intimacy between the two. It is dated February 9, 1881, from the Deanery, St. Paul's:—

"MY DEAR GREGORY,—I quite forgot that to-day is your birthday, till the girls reminded me. Let me wish you many more happy ones—and they will be happy ones if they are marked by such events as your noble speech of this morning.
—Ever yours, R. W. CHURCH."

The speech was on a *gravamen*, which, Canon Gregory moved, should be made an *articulus cleri* (in the technical language of Convocation), asking the bishops to "forbear to interfere by authority with such diversities of ceremonial as are consistent with a literal interpretation of the Rubrics," at the same time restricting the "ornaments" to those covered by the rubric, and securing, for those who desired "a simpler ritual, . . . celebrations of the Holy Communion in a plainer form." The speech itself is so admirable an example of Mr. Gregory's style that it may well be printed here. It will serve to explain and illustrate better than anything else what follows in his autobiography.

He said[1]: "The present position of things is very grave. Two clergymen have lately been put in prison, and a third some time ago. A fourth has been deprived of his benefice by the sentence of a court; and these things have necessarily led to a great deal of anxiety; because this is the way in which persecution takes place in our days. Times alter, and with them the manner in which persecution is carried out. Three hundred years ago we should have burnt these persons; at the present day we throw them into prison or take from them the means of living, and so bring them to poverty. The present plan is apparently more merciful, but it may be doubted whether in the long run it does not cause quite as much suffering. But then it may be said, 'Yes, but it serves them right; for have they not broken the law?' That

[1] *The Chronicle of Convocation*, February 1881, p. 52.

is quite true. They have broken the law; but I should like to know what single person who has ever been persecuted did not break the law? What was said of the Divine Founder of our faith? 'We have a law, and by that law He ought to die.' Then it is said that these clergymen are not persecuted, but only prosecuted; but, whichever it be, it is proposed that these men shall be expelled from our borders, and that they shall be divested of any position they may hold in the ministry, on the ground that they have broken the law. If this is to be so, we are bound to consider whether there is a sufficiently strong case to justify the risk of a proceeding of this kind. It seems to me that there are just three courses open to us. First, we might persevere in the policy of coercion; or we might temporise; or, lastly, we might try a policy of conciliation. Now, as to the first of these courses, it must be tolerably clear that if the policy of coercion is to be continued, if everyone who determines to use vestments and various articles of Church furniture is to be prosecuted, we shall have to deal with no inconsiderable numbers of our brother clergy. It is manifest that those who sympathise with these persons form no small portion of the ranks of the clergy of the Church of England. It is quite clear that there are thousands—certainly there are many hundreds—who sympathise with them: men who do not practise the ritual themselves, but who, if those who do are to be put in prison, will feel that the position is intolerable, and will

consider themselves called upon to stand by their suffering brethren. If we are to stamp out ritualism to the extent that would be necessary in order to eliminate it from the borders of the Church of England, it will require a very formidable amount of persecution indeed. I am not prepared to say that in the case of a great and fundamental error like Arianism we ought to shrink even from such a course as that; and in the days of St. Athanasius it was felt better to jeopardise the external interests of the Church than to hold any compromise with heresy. But what we have to ask ourselves is whether there is at present any sufficient cause for bringing about a crisis such as I have described. In my opinion, there is no such sufficient cause. In the first place, if you challenge these persons with being breakers of the law, so far from admitting it at once, they reply, 'No; we are the only people who keep the law.' This may or may not be right, but a very large proportion of those who have carefully studied the matter agree that their view is correct. At all events, it is a very doubtful question. Of the two interpretations of the Ornaments rubric which have been put forward, it is very doubtful whether that adopted by the Privy Council is really the true and right one; and if it be, the balance of evidence in its favour is so very minute that, under other circumstances, a new set of lawyers might not impossibly come to a different conclusion. Then is it wise to precipitate a crisis by attempting to carry out a policy which must deprive the Church of some hundreds—perhaps some thousands—of men who, from the com-

mencement of their career, have precluded themselves from what are called the prizes of the profession by the earnestness and sincerity of their convictions? For these men know that the views which they advocate will consign them to a life of poverty, so far as our ancient endowments are concerned. It is easy for men in high place, and for men surrounded with flatterers, who pour their honeyed accents into their ears, to say, 'Let us have peace'; but these are times of anxiety and distress, and when we think of the millions who are living in neglect of all religion—when, too, we see men working with earnestness and success amongst them, we have very good reason, indeed, for doubting the wisdom or propriety of persistence in a policy of coercion—a policy which must deprive the Church and the nation of the most valuable labours of men who are content to work, one might almost say, without wages in arduous and repellent fields. But, further, these men say not only that they are observing the rubric, but also that they are faithful to the highest traditions and principles of the Church of which they are members. There are those in this House who hold the name of John Hampden in the utmost possible honour as the defender of political truth. Once a tax was levied upon the county in which he lived; but he thought it was illegal, and, rather than pay it, he suffered persecution or prosecution. After a time his conduct was successfully vindicated, and John Hampden has ever since been held in the greatest honour. Well, these men

think that to defend the rights and liberties of the Church of Christ is a matter of far more importance than any question of paying a few shillings or half-crowns that might have been unjustly demanded of an individual; and they therefore think they are bound to resist a set of Courts which have been established in defiance, or at least without the knowledge and co-operation, of the spiritualty, whereas at the time of the Reformation settlement it was promised that the spiritualty should have the same authority in matters spiritual as the temporalty in matters temporal. I do not entirely agree with all their arguments; but I, for one, cannot help feeling that there is enough in their contention to justify them, from their point of view, in the course which they have taken. These two considerations—first, that these men have from the beginning asserted, and asserted with a great show of probability, that they are keeping the law; and, secondly, that they say they are defending the rights of the Church—seem to me to be absolutely conclusive against a policy of coercion. And now one word as to the manner in which the judgments are given in these Courts. Is that, I would ask, such as should demand the moral approval of the people who are brought before such tribunals? The other day I was looking at the *Life of Lord Campbell*, and I found the following entry with respect to the Gorham case:—

"'HARTRIGGE, *December* 21, 1849.

"'The Judicial Committee have been occupied with the hearing of the great case of *Gorham* v. *Bishop of Exeter*,

which went on many days. I found myself a member of a tribunal to decide a question of dogmatic divinity, having for assessors the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London. The great question was whether the Church of England teaches that there is absolutely spiritual regeneration by the act of infant baptism, or whether she does not tolerate the doctrine that the regeneration depends upon the condition of *prevenient* grace.

"'On the last day we sat evening as well as morning, and we had an elegant repast provided for us in the Council Chamber at the public expense. We afterwards held a conference and "broke" the question, when I was rejoiced to find that, with one dissentient, we were all inclined to the opinion, so desirable for the peace of the Church, "That neither Liturgy nor Articles can be said exactly to define the mode by which regeneration is operated, and that the point on which the parties differ may be considered an open question"' (vol. ii. 266).

"I don't say that all that is not very proper; but still the idea of a number of lawyers—one of them a Scotch Presbyterian, who did not profess to have made any study of the dogmatic theology of the Church of England—sitting down to a luxurious repast and then undertaking to settle what was to bind the conscience of the Church of England for all future time, does not strike one as quite the thing. It is said that the Privy Council decides the questions submitted to it entirely in accordance with law. But I have had sent to me a remark which was made by the late Lord Chancellor, which I should like to read to the House. It has reference to a debate in the House of Lords on the 24th of April 1871, on the subject of Emmanuel Hospital:—

"'Lord Cairns remarked, in reply to Lord Granville, that the action of the Privy Council was not confined to legal questions, but extended to questions of discretion, expediency, and policy.'

"These two quotations may well be read in connection with each other. Lord Campbell was delighted to find that with one exception their lordships were able to decide in favour of the view which he thought desirable for the peace of the Church: and Lord Cairns declares that the Privy Council acts from motives of discretion, expediency, and policy. Well, I had always thought that in questions of religion the first thing to be thought of was the vindication of the truth. We have been reminded that the Privy Council is, in fact, the successor of the Star Chamber; and as the members of the Star Chamber were prohibited from mentioning whether its decisions were unanimous, so the Judicial Committee has adopted the same rule of secrecy. If, then, a policy of coercion could not be adopted without wrecking the Church of England, let us proceed to inquire whether it is desirable to adopt one of temporising. I entirely differ from those who take that view. If ever such a policy would have been right, the time for it has passed away; and the longer this question is kept alive the greater will be the injury which is likely to be inflicted upon the Church and upon the souls of men. We have had enough of it, and, in my opinion, nothing would be more unwise or more unstatesmanlike. Such being the case, shall we not frankly accept a policy of conciliation? I would say, by all means let us embrace these men

as brethren. Let us recognise the good they are doing, and say in God's name, to them, 'Go and do more.' If any one thing would tend more than another to moderate counsels and the restraint of excesses, it would, I believe, be the acceptance of a policy of conciliation. Mark, I am not an advocate for a conciliation that is to get rid of any part of the Reformation settlement. While I am for the fullest conciliation, I would nevertheless limit it in two important respects. In the first place, nothing must be introduced that is not included in the celebrated Ornaments rubric. Do not let us try to get behind that, but let us accept the Ornaments rubric and its fair limits. But, besides that, I think the prejudices and prepossessions of people ought to be very much respected. I should be very unwilling for anything to be done in the opposite direction, and I think, therefore, that provision should be made for the good, excellent, pious people who dislike ritual. They should, I hold, be provided with such services as they can enjoy; and I have reason to believe that these ritualists are not so wedded to ritual that they think it their absolute duty never to dispense with it. On the contrary, I believe they would thankfully provide plain services at fitting times, to be arranged between themselves and the Bishop. I am speaking, therefore, not in favour of a policy of conciliation pure and simple, but in favour of a policy of conciliation limited by the two considerations which I have placed before the House. I believe that if the House should speak with a large and overwhelming majority in this sense, the

future of the Church of England may still be a bright and glorious one. If, on the other hand, it should adopt the only possible alternative—a course of persecution—I should look upon disestablishment as absolutely certain. This grand, noble old Church would become a mere wreck—a mere shadow of her former self, divided into two or three sections, possessing little influence in the country, and no spiritual power in the world. She would be degraded and disgraced, because we had yielded to an angry, impetuous irritation, which, if it had had the power, would have relighted the fires of Smithfield, and which, failing that, would send men we dislike to prison or deprive them of their means of living. Let us rather accept the great and noble position which God has given us. Let us show that we love and admire the enthusiasm of earnest men who, with their hearts on fire with the love of Christ, are ready to go forth and spread abroad the truth in the most degraded parts of the country and of the world."

The speech may fitly introduce what Dean Gregory wrote about "The Ritualists" long after the earlier excitements had subsided. His position is further illustrated in a letter of his to Mr. Mackonochie, April 4, 1868, in which, while urging him to certain concessions, he said: "I am not a ritualist, but so many things are mixed up with your cause that I value above all things, that I feel compelled to say and do what I can to preserve you from attack."

Throughout the whole time I have been in Holy Orders there has been considerable excitement about ritual and the doctrinal questions connected with ritual. Of one or two points connected with this controversy I have had incidentally to speak in what I have already written; with many aspects of the question I have had to deal in Convocation; whilst with a still greater number I have been only interested as other Churchmen have been. But as these questions have formed an important factor in the ecclesiastical history of our times, it may be well for me to recall events and impressions made upon me by them.

About the year 1842, before I was ordained, the Church of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, was consecrated; and then for the first time in a church in recent days the choir men and boys were clad in surplices. This created a great excitement; a riotous mob was collected outside the church, and those taking part in the service were subjected to insults and rough treatment. About the same time there was a series of trials against Mr. Bennett, the Vicar of St. Paul's, Wilton Place, for alleged infringements of the law of the Church by introducing into the churches of St. Paul's [1] and St. Barnabas [2] what were alleged to be illegal ornaments; and in

[1] Knightsbridge. [2] Consecrated St. Barnabas Day, 1850.

1849 there was a trial—Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter—to compel the latter to institute Mr. Gorham into the rectory of Bramford Speke, which the Bishop declined to do on account of the claimant's belief concerning infant baptism being in direct opposition to the teaching of the Prayer-Book. In all these cases the Privy Council decided against what I and the whole body of High Churchmen regarded as the teaching of the Prayer-Book. The feeling amongst us was that those in high places were resolved at all hazards to put down the then unpopular teaching set forth by the "Oxford Tracts," and that it was a matter of indifference to the judges whether the law was with them or against them; the unpopular teaching must be put down; if the law upheld such teaching, so much the worse for the law; it must be changed, and as this could not be done directly by an Act of Parliament, then it might be done indirectly by interpreting existing law to mean what they wished it to mean. The consequence of this was that ecclesiastical law, or rather its administration, fell into contempt; and I remember being asked by Sir Percival Heywood at the Derby Church Congress about the action he should pursue with respect to the Rev. S. F. Green at Miles Platting, a benefice in his gift.

He felt that he had been unjustly deprived,[1] and he was seriously considering whether he ought not to commence an action to secure a reversal of that decision. He told me that he had consulted several distinguished lawyers; that they had all agreed with him, and assured him that if he took the case into Court he would assuredly obtain the verdict he desired. He wished to know what I thought. My advice was to submit to what had been done, and to take no further action, for I said: "Though the law may be as clear as daylight, you may depend upon it, the judges will decide against you." He took the cause into Court, and the result was what I anticipated.

I have said so much to give an idea of the feeling at the time concerning the action of the Ecclesiastical Courts, but it is not my intention to deal at any length with the individual cases that were brought before them, but only with such as I had a more direct and immediate interest in.

When I was ordained priest in 1844 I carefully studied the rubrics in the Prayer Book, and desiring to obey its injunctions as closely as I could, I thought the proper place at which to celebrate Holy Communion was standing before the Table,

[1] Strictly speaking, the "benefice fell vacant through lapse of time" [Cornish, *English Church in XIX Century*, ii. 150], Mr. Green being in prison.

at all events during the time of consecrating the elements. There was at the time no question about the positions, and I remember the first time I celebrated, Mr. Thos. Keble, my vicar, acting as deacon, said, "I think you are right in standing before the Table; I never do it; but take care that the people always see you break the Bread and take the Cup in your hand; remember the origin of hocus-pocus." I always followed his advice, and after the Purchas judgment had pronounced that the position which I had always followed was illegal, I was placed in a dilemma. On the one hand, I was satisfied that the words in the Prayer Book meant what I had understood them to mean; and on the other hand, there was the decision of the Court, concerning which I have given my opinion a little higher up. Talking the matter over with my then colleagues, the late Dean Church and Dr. Liddon, and giving them my views and my reasons for them, they both said, "Write down what you have just said to us and publish it as a pamphlet." This I did.[1] At the same time, Mr. Beresford Hope summoned a meeting at his house of those who objected to

[1] I presume that by this is meant *The Purchas Judgment: A Letter of the Bishop of London by the two Senior Canons of St. Paul's*, 1871. But in 1876 Mr. Gregory also published *The Position of the Priest Ordered by the Rubrics in the Communion Service interpreted by themselves.*

the decision of the Court, to determine what should be done. Many proposals were made; amongst them, that we should have a friendly suit and try to get the decision reversed. I consulted one or two lawyers of my acquaintance, and they dissuaded me, saying that a friendly suit was a most dangerous experiment. The judges always felt that it was the object to force them to give a decision in one way, and that if it was possible they would not do so. At our next meeting I happened to be in the chair, and said this; upon which Lord Robert Cecil (the present Marquess of Salisbury [1]) said, "Then there is only one course open to us, we must get two men to challenge their Bishop to prosecute them," and turning to me, he asked, whether I would be one of them. I at once said, "Yes, I will, if Dr. Liddon will join me.[2] Upon this I sketched an outline of what I thought should be said, and went down to Oxford to talk the matter over with Liddon. As we were talking, Dr. Pusey came in, and it was the last time I saw him. All agreed that we should do what we had been asked to do, and Dr. Liddon

[1] The 3rd Marquess, died 1903.

[2] A letter from Mr. Berdmore Compton, Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, dated March 7, 1871 (referring to a meeting at Mr. Hope's as "yesterday's"), urges Mr. Gregory in the most earnest and affectionate manner not to sacrifice himself. "Consider the satisfaction with which the Puritan party would see you and Liddon resign your stations in the Church and the former dirty uselessness of St. Paul's re-established."

prepared the paper, which was published, the authorship being ascribed to the two senior Canons of St. Paul's. This we sent to our Diocesan and he requested us to come and see him. This we did; he argued the question with us, and sought to show what evil we were doing, and how much mischief we were inflicting on the Church. As we were leaving, I felt that the Bishop's parting words would be, that he would be obliged to prosecute us. I anticipated this by saying, "My lord, we have one parting request to make, and that is, if you prosecute anyone you will prosecute us." This put an end to prosecutions, if there had ever been any thought of such in the Diocese of London.

The Life of Dr. Liddon (by Canon J. O. Johnston, 1904, pp. 145 *sqq.*) gives the correspondence at this time between the two Canons of St. Paul's and their Bishop. On February 23, the Judicial Committee gave judgment in the Purchas case, declaring the eastward position illegal. On March 1, the Church Association declared its determination to give the bishops "no peace" till they enforced this decision. Next day Mr. Gregory and Dr. Liddon wrote to the Bishop, stating that they were unable to recognise in the judgment any sufficient reason for departure from their existing practice. The Bishop answered, and Mr. Gregory replied again on

March 3[1]: "As you have been so good as to speak out to me, I feel sure you will excuse my speaking out to you in reply. You dread anarchy: it is my feeling that it has been for some time since the condition of the Church, and that so long as a Law Court assumes the power of legislation it is impossible for it to be otherwise. You appeal to the Civil Courts, as if disobedience to them would be a parallel case to the present; I deny the inference—they keep within their province and administer the law. Parliament legislates. The final Court of Appeal tries to legislate: in so doing it oversteps its power, and thus introduces anarchy. Take the recent judgment. It confesses that the position of the celebrant is one of great difficulty to decide: it virtually confesses that the law of the Church has not decided it. But there are certain considerations which induce the Court to think a certain place is most probably intended, and so it legislates for the future of the Church, it assumes the functions of a Synod, it decrees eventually deprivation against all who disobey its new decree. A lay court (proper) would say that in all penal causes where there is a doubt, the decision must be for acquittal, and so would incite Parliament to legislate, as it could not. I have promised *canonical* obedience: when the obedience demanded is contrary to the canons, and in my firm belief to the law of the Church, I am obliged to consider the whole question. There

[1] This letter is given in the *Life of Dr. Liddon;* but some characteristic sentences from it may well be quoted here in their first form, which is more brief than as finally sent.

must be a higher law somewhere; if, *e.g.*, it was proposed to omit the 'not' out of the Commandments, I suppose the action of the higher law would be allowed. I think that some higher law requires that we 'should render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' If Cæsar, sitting on the judgment-seat can ordain new ritual, he can ordain new doctrine also, and then where shall we be landed? I am quite aware that Cæsar bears the sword, and that he can make his power, however exerted, felt. It is well that it is so. It deepens the sense of responsibility. I only mention it to show that I have thought over the whole subject. Your Lordship thinks it impossible that anyone can regard it as an ordinance of God whether the celebrant stands on one side of the holy table or another. That in itself is a matter indifferent; but it is not indifferent whose order about it we obey, as I have already shown. Moreover, in the eyes of thousands of young men recently won from the kingdom of Satan, it is regarded as a matter of deepest moment. The Church of England has for many years not been too successful with men of this class—half-educated, ill-informed, narrow, but zealous and earnest, and advancing to higher things. The 'offence' this judgment will cause to them God only knows. The many it will wound and cause to doubt, and eventually drive from Him, He only knows. I am obliged to think of them. Their souls are very precious, more precious than the Establishment. I am trying to act with a deep sense of my responsi-

bility. If I am right, may God strengthen me. If I am wrong, may He convert me. Whatever is before me, may I seek only His glory."

On March 22 took place the interview with the Bishop described above. The correspondence continued for some time. Letters from the Bishop, dated July 8 and July 13 are preserved, with the draft answers. Mr. Gregory says that "many clergymen go so far as to believe it to be immoral to plead before" the final Court of Appeal: he "could not quite say that." But he asked that, in the prosecution which seemed impending, he and Dr. Liddon might be tried by a Civil Court; "it was because we felt that charity for our brother demanded such a sacrifice at our hands. Our being sent to prison could matter to nobody but ourselves." As to the Court, he said that those of his way of thinking felt it a hardship for any cause to be tried by it, "because whether its decision be favourable or unfavourable to our views, we equally reject now, as we have rejected for years, attaching the slightest consideration to its decrees." He made it clear that the matter was to him one of plain principle: the Court had authority to speak for Cæsar, but was "utterly without authority from Christ to judge in His name."

Undated, and without signature, is another letter of Mr. Gregory's, apparently written also for the two Canons of St. Paul's, to the Bishop of London. This points out, in answer to the view that dress or posture are matters of indifference, that it was precisely as not being such that the

Church Association were attacking the position. After speaking of the cases where small acts symbolise much, the letter continues :—

"And just in the same manner the position of the celebrant typifies to a very large number of English Churchmen, and to ourselves among the number, what we hold to have been the distinctive principles of the English Church since the Reformation, the Church of Bishop Andrewes, of Laud, of Barrow, Beveridge, Keble, &c. We may be unable to adduce positive evidence, such as would satisfy the requirements of a Court of Law upon what their practice was, for nothing is more difficult than to prove what each generation practises, and which it feels to be too notorious to need recording; but we have ample evidence to satisfy our own minds, and to convince us that to accept and to submit to what appears to us to be a perfectly novel interpretation, would be a betrayal of our trust and an abandonment of that real connexion of the Church of England of to-day with the Church of England of the past, which is in our eyes essential for the maintenance of its position as a branch of Christ's Church.

"We fully believe that the Church of England has 'power to decree rites and ceremonies,' as your Lordship asserts, but we hold that such power is lodged in the two Houses of Convocation, and not in the Court of Final Appeal. Your words appear to suggest the latter, but we feel sure that such an interpretation would be foreign to what you believe concerning the administration of the Church."

The letter concludes with an earnest assertion that it is on behalf of many parishioners that the stand is made.

As Mr. Gregory has said, the Bishop decided to take no action. The form in which he announced this decision was a letter in which he stated that he would prosecute the two Canons of St. Paul's if they broke the law in the way they claimed the right to do, if he was "duly called upon, by the authorities of the Cathedral to which we belong, to take cognizance of the offence." This was on June 28. That he should so be called was, of course, not in the least likely. Out of the Chapter of five, Gregory and Liddon were two. The Dean, Dr. Mansel, was the last person in the world to call in the Bishop to prosecute them: the only recorded saying of his on the "Ritual" question is that when the Court ordered a cope at the Holy Communion—

> "Then Zion, in her anguish,
> With Babylon must *cope.*"

Canon Melville, though by no means in theological agreement with them, said on his deathbed, "I have loved and admired many men, but I have never *loved* any man as I do Liddon": and he was succeeded by Lightfoot, far too wise and learned a man to approve of such prosecutions. In July Dr. Mansel died, and at the end of the next month the Rev. R. W. Church accepted the Deanery.

We may now return to the autobiography. The case next dealt with was that of Mr. Ridsdale, who was prosecuted under the Public Worship

Regulation Act of 1874. Archbishop Tait sent the case for trial before Lord Penzance as Judge of the Arches Court.[1] The two principal questions were the vestments required or authorised by the rubric, and the eastward position. The counsel for the appellant, Mr. Ridsdale, were Mr. James Fitzjames Stephen and Mr. Arthur Charles; on the other side were Dr. Stephens and Mr. Benjamin Shaw.

But this was doomed not to be the end of the relations to the legal aspect of the case. In the year 1875 a prosecution was commenced against Mr. Ridsdale of Folkestone, for adopting the same practices for which Mr. Purchas had been condemned. At first the English Church Union undertook his defence; but before the trial came on the question was raised at the Union whether it was right for them to have any concern with a trial in a Court in which they utterly disbelieved; and whether by so doing they would not commit themselves to a recognition of the legal right to be obeyed, which would be inconsistent with their previous action. Upon this certain persons came to me and asked whether Dean Church and I would undertake the responsibilities of the case.

[1] For the history of the case, see *Memorials of Earl of Selborne*, 1865–1895, i. 377 *sqq.*; Perry, *St. Paul's English Church History*, 3rd Part, 485 *sqq.*; Cornish, *History of English Church*, ii. 143 *sqq.*

To this we agreed, upon the condition that our legal responsibility should be limited to £500. This having been arranged, before the trial came on I was summoned to a conference with the counsel who were to represent us in Court. I took my pamphlet with me and gave it to Mr. Stephen, our leading counsel. About a fortnight after the trial I happened to meet him on the Thames Embankment, when he came up to me and said, "You would see by the papers that I adopted the arguments in your pamphlet, and the Court approved them by giving their decision with respect to the eastward position in accordance with them."

It was this conviction that the Law Courts did not administer justice to the Ritualists when their causes were before them that drove all who adhered to the principles of the High Church party to act together. There were many of them who regretted the extent to which ritualistic practices that seemed to show an attraction towards Rome were being developed, and who felt that sooner or later they would occasion trouble to the Church, but who also felt constrained to remain strictly neutral, or to hold out a helping hand to men with most of whose principles they agreed, but some of whose practices

they very much disliked. It was impossible fairly to look at the sayings and doings of their more prominent opponents and not to see that in their hearts they extremely disliked the whole High Church movement, and the principles on which it was based, and not to feel that if it were possible they would drive all who sympathised with such views out of the Church of England. The eastward position and frequent celebrations of Holy Communion seemed to be as much disliked by them as vestments and incense. Whatever High Churchmen did was attacked, if there was the slightest hope of obtaining a favourable judgment in the Law Courts. Their teaching was misunderstood and misrepresented, and whenever there seemed to be an opening for raising the "No Popery" cry against them, it was unscrupulously made the most of. For some years after 1832 the adherents of the "Oxford Tracts" were numerically weak, and it seemed as though it might be possible to make short work with them. But every year their followers increased, partly owing to the mistakes and exaggerations of their opponents, until in every representative assembly of clergy, their friends and supporters were a formidable minority, if not an actual majority: the proportion of their lay adherents naturally

did not rapidly become so formidable, but even amongst these laity those who sympathised with them became a very formidable body. The most serious blow that was given to the attacks upon them, of which I have spoken, was Archbishop Benson's judgment in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, that was afterwards confirmed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.[1] In this case the Bishop of Lincoln was attacked for having taken part in services in which certain ornaments were used and practices followed that had been declared illegal by the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Archbishop dared to go behind the judgments that had been previously given, and to examine the whole question from a much wider point of view than had been previously taken, and pronounced many things to be legal that had been previously proscribed. This for some years put an end to ritual prosecutions, but, unfortunately, instead of furnishing a limit beyond which it was undesirable to advance, it seemed rather to be viewed as an encouragement to some to multiply ceremonies that had never been seen in one of our churches since the Reformation. Some eager and enthusiastic men seemed to persuade themselves that the same perseverance in spite of

[1] On August 2, 1892. See *Life of Archbishop Benson*, ii. 374.

opposition which had at last secured the liberty to use certain vestments and to practise certain ceremonies would have the same effect in legalising other things for which there was not the like support then found in the pages of the Prayer Book.

This revived the idea of the need for making new efforts to amend the Ecclesiastical Courts. Objections had been raised, not only to the unfairness of the judgments given by them, but also to the principle on which they were constructed. Many of the more moderate members of the High Church party were desirous to stop practices that were creeping into use, but felt that it was impossible for men to be assailed in Courts to the constitution of which they had conscientious objections, and in which it was notorious they would not plead, but would rather suffer judgment to go against them without their being heard. A Royal Commission had sat on the subject, by which many valuable proposals had been made, but none of them had been acted on, and a system which they had practically condemned was still allowed to continue.

That Mr. Gregory continued to take a keen interest in these questions may be seen from a

letter he wrote on November 10, 1900, to Bishop Creighton, in which he stated his disagreement with certain clergy who were at that time threatened, but his conviction that "prosecutions only increase the evils which they are intended to cure."

To turn now to other events in my life. Besides the two Royal Commissions of which I was a member, there are two others of which I formed a part. The one sat in 1870 and the following year, and was on the administration and operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts. I entered the Commission with my mind entirely unformed on the subject; but I was satisfied, after hearing the large amount of evidence placed before us, that the earlier Acts had done great good; that they had considerably diminished the amount of vice in the various towns which were brought under their influence, and had saved many unwary young women from a miserable life of sin. The later Acts, which aimed at a complete systematization of dealing with the disease in question, seemed to me to be open to objection on moral grounds, whilst it was evident that they were not more effective in diminishing the amount of disease than the earlier Acts had been. I was therefore strongly in favour of

upholding the earlier Acts and repealing the later ones; and I greatly regretted when the House of Commons, under the influence of extreme opponents and theoretical philanthropists, repealed both sets of Acts, and so opened a way to the evil consequences which have since ensued.

The other Royal Commission of which I was a member was concerned with the Parochial Charities of the City of London. These amounted to a large sum, and for many years a large portion of this had been applied in the several parishes to which a larger or smaller portion of it belonged, to the relief of the poor of the parish, and the sustentation of charities in the parish or elsewhere, to maintaining the fabric and services of the Church and to subsidising the income of the Incumbent, where it was small. Over a large portion of these charities the parishioners had an absolute right of control, as the land from which the revenue was derived had been twice confiscated—once at the Reformation, and a second time by Oliver Cromwell during the Civil Wars. When therefore the union of parishes for the purpose of poor law administration was decreed by Parliament, the parishioners were perfectly within their right in paying over a portion of

the sum received for these charities in meeting the amount levied upon them for the relief of the poor. The chief point in dispute amongst the members of the Commission was the extent to which these charities were ecclesiastical. Prebendary Rogers[1] was anxious that all should be placed under the direction of a Board of Trustees, who were to be at liberty to apply them to ecclesiastical or philanthropic purposes at their discretion. To have accepted such an arrangement would practically have robbed the Church of large sums of money that had been expressly given for her support. In this the majority of the Commissioners agreed and recommended that a small Commission, on which the Charity Commission should be well represented, should be appointed to decide under which of the two heads—ecclesiastical or philanthropic—each charity should be placed. When an Act was passed a few years later to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission, it directed that the two funds should be kept distinct, and that it should be left to the Charity Commission to decide to which of these the several charities should be

[1] It may be told here that Mr. Rogers once said: "Your ideas and mine, Gregory, differ fundamentally. I believe in flannel petticoats, and you believe in the Church Catechism."

applied. The result was that the Charity Commission decided that one-third of the whole amount should be regarded as ecclesiastical, and two-thirds as philanthropic; as the total annual value of these charities exceeds £100,000, it is important that the Church should not be defrauded of her rights, as she so commonly is. The Act of Parliament provided that a body should be nominated by the Crown and certain interested parties to manage these charities, under the name of the City Parochial Charities Trust. Of this Trust I have been a member since its first formation.

With regard to the proportion of the fund assigned to ecclesiastical purposes, there were many points to be considered. A certain portion of the sources from which it was derived had been devoted to the maintenance of the fabric and the services of the churches, and had no doubt been given for that express purpose. Were these churches and parishes to be deprived of all help from funds which, for centuries, had belonged to them? To meet this difficulty the Bishop of London, acting in harmony with the Charity Commissioners, appointed a Committee consisting of the Bishop of Bedford, Archdeacon of London (Dr. Giffard), Mr. H. Gibbs (now Lord Alden-

ham),[1] Dr. Freshfield, Sir John Jennings, and myself, who were to recommend what amount should be given to each church for maintaining the services and the fabric. These recommendations made by this Committee were all confirmed by the Charity Commissioners, and they proffered to several parishes a loan for the improvement of their churches, the capital sum to be repaid by instalments. The remaining surplus was to be divided amongst the dioceses included in the metropolitan area, according to their population within these limits, and was to be distributed by their respective Bishops, who were to report to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to what purposes it had been dedicated, and the extent to which the selected parishes were benefited by it.

In the year [ ],[2] I ventured to say in Convocation that a good work would be done for the Church if we could start an insurance office for insuring against fire, churches, schools, parsonages and their contents, and other property belonging to church people; whatever profits were made to be given to Church charities, after due

[1] The first lord; died 1907.

[2] The year is left blank in the record, and no record of any such speech has been found. The Dean always said that he made the speech in Convocation, but it is possible that he first developed the idea in a speech elsewhere.

provision had been made for remunerating those who provided the necessary capital for the undertaking. At the time my statements were controverted and nothing was done, and perhaps I was remiss in not pushing forward what I was convinced would be useful in many ways. After a time the Secretary of Queen Anne's Bounty took up the subject: he entirely shared my opinions, and he endeavoured to obtain the consent of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty to his seeking to pass a Bill through Parliament enabling the Bounty Board to undertake this business. But partly through the influence of persons interested in other fire insurance offices, and partly from opposition for other reasons, the Secretary's proposal failed to obtain that support which was necessary for its success. Upon this happening I had the opportunity of laying the question before the Board of Directors of the Clergy Mutual Assurance Society; I did so, and they were disposed to take up the subject, and some of the members invited me to join their board, in order to push the matter forward. This I declined to do, and in an indefinite kind of way it was arranged that on some future day I should talk the matter over with them. But before that some day arrived I happened to meet Canon

Blackley, who told me that he and some friends of his were endeavouring to start a joint stock company, with limited liability, to carry out the object I had in view, and he invited me to join them; for, as he truly said, if we all worked together we shall succeed; if two societies are started, both will fail. I therefore consented to join them, and in this way the Ecclesiastical Insurance Company was started, which has been a most conspicuous success.

There was another important venture made on somewhat similar lines with which I have been connected, which has done much good, but which has not been a conspicuous financial success. Some years before we moved in the matter of Church High Schools for Girls, a society for the same purpose had been formed on undenominational lines. One day Archdeacon Emery asked if I would join with him and some others, and commence a Church High Schools Company. This I gladly did; many schools have been founded and are being carried on by this Company, and it may be hoped that its useful operations may be greatly extended.

The many activities here recorded have extended far on in the Dean's life. Others of equal interest

are now to be considered which also belong to the period after the great change which he mentions before entering into them.

The new points of departure in my life were crowded together in a very short space of time. In November 1868 I was nominated by Mr. Disraeli to be a Canon of St. Paul's, and I was installed on St. Thomas' Day. The vacancy was made by the appointment of Canon Champneys to be Dean of Lichfield; his vacancy was first offered to and accepted by the Rev. G. Prothero, but upon the elevation of Canon Wordsworth to the Bishopric of Lincoln, a vacancy was made in the Chapter of Westminster, to which Mr. Prothero was transferred, and I was appointed to St. Paul's. I shall have so much to say concerning what happened at St. Paul's, that I will postpone all that relates to it, until I have written what seems necessary concerning the other important position to which I was called.

In the spring of 1869 Archdeacon Sinclair resigned the office of Treasurer of the National Society, which he had occupied for many years, and at the almost unanimous request of the Committee (there were two opponents), I was invited to succeed him, and I gladly accepted the invita-

tion, as I had always felt the deepest interest in the subject of popular education.

The times were anxious; there had been for some years a growing sense that the nation had not fulfilled as it ought the duty of providing adequate funds for the education of the poorer classes; there had been a rapidly increasing jealousy of the Church on account of the great efforts and personal sacrifices made by its members to furnish schools and efficient teaching for the labouring classes of the community. The influence of the Church party in Parliament was weak, Mr. Gladstone, who had been for some time the champion of the Church's interests, having thrown himself into the arms of the Nonconformists and depending to a considerable extent upon their support for his position as Prime Minister. It was therefore felt that any legislation on the subject of education would have as one of its objects, the diminution of the Church's influence in that important sphere of philanthropic work. The appointment of Mr. Forster, who was a Quaker by religious profession and an advanced Liberal, and who was never baptized, to the important position of Vice-President of the Committee of Council of Education, to whom the framing of the Education Bill would necessarily be entrusted, forboded no good to Church schools.

In opposition to these influences there was a reactionary feeling of justice aroused in many minds, and notably in those of Mr. Gladstone, who a few years previously had taken an active part in spreading Church schools, and of Mr. Forster, by the extreme position taken up by the Radical and dissenting party. The object of this party was to make the education secular, and to make it impossible for the Church party and other religionists to carry on their schools, by withholding from them all State recognition and assistance. The arrangement eventually accepted was that the State should assume a position of strict neutrality, with respect to religion. Her Majesty's Inspectors were to be forbidden to examine in any way into the religious teaching given to any of the schools, whilst the School Boards to be established under the Act were to be left free to give or to withhold from giving any religious teaching; whilst in the event of their resolving to give religious teaching, it was only to be such as was provided by the British and Foreign School Society, a Nonconformist educational authority, for schools in connection with the various dissenting bodies; the Cowper Temple clause which was to be the authoritative controller of the religious teaching given in Board Schools being in reality the clause

inserted in the deeds of all British and Foreign schools. In other respects the teaching in the Voluntary and the Board schools was to be retained. In the Bill as introduced by the Government, the School Boards were to be allowed to make grants to the Voluntary schools in their districts; but this was so violently opposed by the Radicals, that the permission was withdrawn, and in lieu of it a considerable increase in the ordinary Government grant was promised; but as this increased grant was to be enjoyed equally by the Board schools and the Voluntary schools, it afforded no advantage to the latter in its struggle with the former, which were to have the right of making unlimited demands upon the rates for the schools they established. At the time it was boldly asserted by Mr. Forster and members of the Government that the education rate would never exceed 3d. in the pound. By this many were deceived, the School Boards generally seeming to regard it as their duty to make Voluntary schools impossible. For this purpose, in many places, notably in London, they multiplied schools to a most unnecessary extent, and increased expenditure to an excessive extent, so that a 3d. rate became rather the lowest than the highest sum required.

Professedly the Education Act of 1870 was to

supplement and not to supplant the existing educational system; covertly, and, as it seemed to many, intentionally, it was so drawn that it must at no distant period destroy most, if not all, the Voluntary schools; so completely was this felt to be the case that the Bishop of London (Jackson) said to me in the Board-room of the National Society, "In seven years you will not have a school left." As proof that the expectation of the framers of the Act that many schools would be transferred to Boards, it may suffice to mention that the Bill as drawn and presented to Parliament provided that a majority of the managers of any Voluntary school could at any duly summoned meeting transfer their school to a Board, and it also provided that if there was no provision in the trust deed for the transfer of the school, such a vote as that just named would legally accomplish all that was required. In this form the Bill passed through the House of Commons, but at the instigation of the National Society, on the motion of Lord Carnarvon, the clause was altered in the House of Lords, so that a majority of two-thirds of the managers of the school and also of two-thirds of the subscribers towards its support was required to make the transfer legal.

It ought to be mentioned that there was very

little that was original in Mr. Forster's Act. Two or three Sessions previously a Bill had been introduced into the House of Commons by several private members closely resembling that which eventually passed, except that it did not contain the objectionable Cowper Temple clause, which was proposed by a private member of that name, but it was understood at the time that his action was instigated by the Government, and in the earlier Bill there were no compulsory clauses, about which there have been strong differences of opinion, the most vehement supporters of the principle affirming that it has not proved a success, because its demands are not sufficiently peremptory, and are not enforced with unbending stringency by the magistrates; whilst others (of whom I am one) never thought it could accomplish what it was designed to effect, as parents and children would alike have excited in them a distaste for an education that had to be enforced by fine and imprisonment, and would naturally do their utmost to secure failure to a system that was thus imposed upon them. After nearly thirty years' experience of its working, I suppose that most candid people would think that educationally it has done neither so much good as its friends prophesied for it, nor

so much evil as its opponents anticipated, whilst the educational system for which it was responsible is now universally allowed to have been a signal failure, as well as an extravagantly costly one.

When the clauses regulating the kind of religious teaching that was to be permitted in Board schools was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Cowper Temple, it was objected to by the National Society; and though its full effect was not fully realised, it was felt that it struck a deadly blow at the kind of religious teaching for which Churchmen had always contended. Protests were made by a few people: some few, of whom I was one, did what they could to hinder its becoming law: but their task was hopeless. The Bishops seemed cowed by the authority of Mr. Gladstone; the Church party in the House of Commons was feeble and lacked a determined leader to speak strongly of its dangers; whilst in the House of Lords it was felt to be useless to resist what the House of Commons had accepted, and those who should have stood in the breach shrank from the unpopularity of opposing what seemed satisfactory to most politicians.

The religious effect of this Bill has been, in

my opinion, disastrous. The deference to superiors that was taught in Church schools was more than ignored, children were practically taught that it was derogatory to show marks of respect to superiors in station, and hooliganism is the natural result. Rudeness, sometimes offensively displayed towards superiors in the streets, has in many places become common, whilst the deference that used to be shown to superiors has become a thing of the past.

When the Education Bill of 1870 passed, the friends of religious education were not so well prepared for it as they ought to have been. The changes, introduced a few years previously, in the manner in which State help was afforded, had shaken the confidence of many people in the stability of the position of these schools, which were being erected at great cost, and in the system of education which they represented. Mr. Robert Lowe's scheme of payment by results, and the manner in which he had placed his proposals before the House of Commons, had raised a feeling that further changes might be expected, and the rapid increase of schools by voluntary bodies, and especially by Church people, which had been proceeding up to that time, had been materially checked. Moreover, a few earnest

Churchmen, amongst them my good friend Archdeacon Denison, had so decried the interference of Government with popular education and the measures proposed for co-operating with Church people and other religious bodies, as to add to peoples' fears and doubts. Their actions had tended to chill the zeal and enthusiasm with which the cause of furthering the spread of Church schools had been carried on for some years previously. From these combined causes it came to pass that whilst some villages and most towns were fairly provided with Church schools, other villages were left without any efficient school, and some large towns, notably London, were most inadequately provided with schools.

The Committee of the National Society fully realised the danger of this state of things, and, in the year previous to the introduction of the Education Bill by Government, had made a vigorous effort to stimulate backward parishes to provide themselves with schools. To several places the offer was made of a donation of £100, in addition to their ordinary grant, if the parishioners would exert themselves and raise the further sum that would be required to erect a school. This caused several schools to be built,

and it aroused the attention of many apathetic persons to the fact that the National Society, which represented the Church in the matter of popular education, keenly felt that the only effectual way of retaining any share of the hold which the Church had so long possessed over popular education was to provide schools wherever they were needed. This was very strongly my own view of the situation, and I did what I could to give effect to it.

One of the points which had to be considered when the Education Bill was framed was the assistance which should be given by the State towards the erection of new schools. When political people first began to realise that some political advantage might be gained by advocating popular education, after the Reform Bill of 1832 had greatly extended the franchise and admitted large numbers of the upper portions of the labouring classes to vote at elections, the impulse was to offer a bounty, more or less liberal, towards erecting school buildings. As the system developed, under the able administration of Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth, this form of promoting popular education was greatly extended, and in some cases nearly one-half of the cost of the building was furnished by the National

Exchequer. When the Act of 1870 was passed, it was obviously unnecessary to furnish any portion of the cost of building schools, provided by the Boards, which that Act called into existence, as the rates would supply to an unlimited extent whatever money was needed, and the plea that the object of the Government was to treat all schools—Voluntary or Board—with perfect equality, was an apparently popular way of depriving Voluntary schools of the assistance on which, for many years, they had been led to depend; and thus under the pretence of equal dealing a heavy blow could be given to the increase of Voluntary schools, which many of us thought that members of the Government desired, notwithstanding their professions of a different wish.

To effect the object aimed at in the quietest manner, the Act provided that no building grants for schools should be given that were not applied for before the end of the year: in other words, during the little more than the four months of the year still remaining. It was thought that this would be safe, as few places would apply; whilst it had the look of liberal dealing. To the surprise of everyone, Church people all over the country were aroused to the importance of protecting religious education, and not permitting only a

mongrel form of religion, in which no one really believed, to be taught to children in whom they were interested, and applications for building grants were sent in by hundreds. This caused very heavy and unusual demands to be made upon the funds of the National Society. It was felt that if the central representative of the Church could hold out a helping hand to those who thus applied, their efforts would probably be crowned with success, as the friends on whose generous contributions they relied for the necessary funds, would be stimulated to give if the proposal had the imprimatur of so important an authority; whereas if this were denied, the prospects of success would be greatly diminished. Encouraged by several wealthy members of the Committee, and especially by Mr. Hubbard (afterwards Lord Addington), the Society promised help to every school that applied, and pledged itself to the extent of many thousand pounds beyond the funds it then possessed, assured that before the buildings could be erected and the promised grants demanded, there would be sufficient provision to pay all that was wanted. The event justified the line adopted; hundreds of new schools were built, and the introduction of a School Board was averted from many a parish.

To those of us who believe that the kind of religion that can be taught in Board schools was certain to lower the moral and religious tone of the country this was a result that gave great satisfaction. For many years the eager advocates of extended popular education in Parliament had been urging that with the spread of education vice and crime would diminish, and to give effect to their contention they had secured orders from the Home Secretary that the amount of education possessed by every criminal should be registered, and because a very large percentage of these unfortunates were illiterate, they urged that their ignorance was the cause of their criminality; whilst Sir Charles Reed, Chairman of the London School Board in some of its early days, never wearied in giving assurances to the people of the Metropolis that they could not make a better investment than in building Board schools, as these would so seriously diminish the number of criminals that the saving on prisons and criminals would greatly exceed the amount they would have to pay for School Board rates. Believing, as I do and always have done, that definite religion is the only solid foundation on which improved morality can be built, I have always combated the assertion that secular educa-

tion, or such miserable religious instruction as is commonly given in Board schools can improve the morality of the country. And shortly after the passing of the Act, as well as since that time, I ventured to state this openly in sermons, speeches, and articles in reviews. I hold that the returns given in the Government reports on crimes have fully justified my contention, as the number of juvenile criminals and of moral offences has greatly increased, notwithstanding the efforts of the many excellent reformatories and industrial schools in which thousands of criminally disposed children are removed from scenes of temptation and placed under excellent instructors, and the many changes in the criminal laws which tend all to lessen the appearance of crime that was formerly more clearly revealed to the public eye. Many criminals who used to be sent for trial to Petty Sessions or Assizes can now be summarily dealt with by the magistrate, so that whilst the numbers of offenders tried at Assizes or Petty Sessions has diminished, the number of offenders summarily dealt with by the magistrates has greatly increased.

With this feeling about Board schools it seemed obvious that I could not consistently undertake any part in managing them. When the first London School Board was elected in 1870, I

was asked to become a candidate for Lambeth, but I declined. Three years later, at the second election, I was persuaded to be a candidate for the City Division, and was elected for it. My reason for doing so was mainly this: it was seen that the School Board regarded the Voluntary schools as rivals and not as friends, and that no opportunity of injuring them was lost. Board schools were built in close proximity to Church schools to draw away their scholars; the best teachers in some Church schools were induced to leave them and undertake the charge of Board schools by the offer of greatly increased salaries; and it was thought that I might be of some use in defending the interests of the threatened schools by becoming a member of the Board. Our opponents had a decided majority, so that not much could be effected; but I was able to do something to hinder a liberal salary being given to the Chairman of the Board. I was privately asked whether I would support a proposal to that effect, and upon my saying that I should do all I could to oppose it, it was not brought forward. It would have been unpopular with the constituencies, and unless the Church party could have been induced to support it, there was a great probability that at the next election power would have passed into their

hands. At the expiration of the three years for which I had been elected, I declined to stand again, as my feeling of opposition to undenominational religious teaching, as it was practically ordered by law, grew stronger and made me shrink from the responsibility of appearing in any way as a supporter or approver of it. I have often deeply regretted the words of praise and approval given to Board schools by Bishops and other dignitaries of the Church, as I felt that it gave them a standing in the eyes of half-educated people and others who did not seriously understand the question, that they would not otherwise have enjoyed, whilst it afforded an excuse to people not liberally minded to refuse help to Voluntary schools. That there are amongst Board school teachers very earnest religious people, who by the example of their lives and the earnestness of their teaching do good service, I have no doubt, but this is an accident; and under a system like that of the London School Board, which does not permit candidates for the office of teacher to be questioned respecting their religious belief, the idea of the children being taught definitely any faith must necessarily be very doubtful. If some teachers are believers, others are unbelievers; if in some schools the children are taught a reverent faith in our Lord

Jesus Christ, in others they are practically taught that all sense of the importance of such a faith is idle and unnecessary. I had an illustration of what happens in some Board schools through a teacher seeking my advice on a matter of conscience. In compliance with the wish of her father, who was a clergyman, she had undertaken the office, and was evidently a thoroughly conscientious, religious woman, who did her best to implant the rudiments of the Faith in the hearts and minds of the children under her care. The mistress of the class below her was a strong dissenter—Baptist, I think; the teacher of the class above her was an agnostic, so that in three years as the children advanced they passed under these three different religious influences, with the result, as the good lady thought, of regarding all religion as a matter of no importance. Her doubt was, whether she would be justified in throwing up her appointment under these circumstances in opposition to the wishes of her father. She was over thirty years of age, and I thought she would be justified. I mention the circumstance because I imagine it must describe a state of things that frequently happens, and illustrates an obvious common danger in all the London Board schools, where no one is supposed to know whether the

teacher is a Churchman or a Baptist, a Roman Catholic or a Quaker, a Christian or a Parsee.

Another educational matter in which I came to take great interest arose in this way. One day I had a letter from Cardinal Manning in which he said that he should be greatly obliged if I would come and see him, as the state of the Roman Catholic schools was becoming very critical, and he did not see what steps it was desirable to take, and knowing the interest I took in the question of Voluntary Schools and distinctive religious teaching, he should be glad of my advice. I accordingly went, when he told me that the strain upon himself and his co-religionists for the support of their schools was becoming almost intolerable, and he did not see for what remedy he should agitate in order to obtain relief. I had often thought over the subject, and proceeded to show him, that serious as was the condition of the Voluntary Schools, it had never been placed before the world in such an authoritative form as would compel outsiders to believe what the state of the case really was, and that I was satisfied nothing would, or could, be done until the true position of affairs had been carefully enquired into by a Royal Commission, and we had recommendations from such a body for more

equitable treatment. He unhestitatingly adopted the suggestion, and said, "I will at once direct all the clergy under my jurisdiction to petition for the appointment of such a Commission." This was done, and in the course of a year or so the Royal Commission on education was appointed, and of it I was a member. In the evidence taken by it, and in the recommendations it made, there was provided the authoritative statement which I felt to be needed, and there is reason for thinking that these, and the interest aroused by their publication, and the discussion they excited, materially assisted in securing the small, but not altogether unimportant ameliorations in the position of the Voluntary Schools which have been provided by recent legislation. At the same time I feel that no settlement of the question can be satisfactory, until there is meted out to Church people and other believers in a definite revelation from God the same treatment that is accorded to those who are satisfied with the hazy, indefinite kind of so-called religious teaching which is known as undenominationalism, in which no one really believes, and which is held to be satisfactory only by those who take their views of religion from what is popular with the world, and who regard creeds and religious dogma as matters of party,

and not as in any real way affecting man's relations to God; in other words, who are content to measure the truth or falsehood of religions as of all other things, by their influence in making the present life easy and comfortable, and ignore altogether their relation to an eternal future. I do not think that it is necessary for me to say more here about matters educational and the part I took in them. All this is practically set forth in the articles I wrote for the *School Guardian* and in other publications, and can be more accurately learned from such sources by any one who thinks it worth his while to ascertain it, than they possibly could from reminiscences of mine penned many years after their occurrence. Or possibly I may say something more on the subject later on.

The *School Guardian* issued its first number on January 1, 1876, and Mr. Gregory was practically though not technically its editor for many years. He was a constant contributor, always clear in his enunciations of policy, trenchant in his criticisms, full of sympathy for the children and the teachers, devoted to the encouragement of an education of the whole being, body, soul, and spirit, which had God for its centre and its light.

In his first article he stated the aims that he

set before him. Thirty years before, the National Society had begun to issue its monthly paper. Now it was to be developed on the same principles. "Our object will be to support every measure which promises really to improve the education of the people, and to oppose whatever we think would degrade or undermine it." The National Society, which had worked for the education of the poor when many people doubted whether they should be educated at all, had a right to quote its past as a guarantee of its intentions in the future. "Our principles will remain the same as they have ever been. We wish to know no party in Church or State; to recognise equally the rights of school-managers and school-teachers; to urge upon all an adequate discharge of the responsibilities of their position, and to secure for all a fair recognition of the good work they accomplish. Satisfied that no system of education can be permanent or satisfactory which does violence to the religious principles or scruples of any large section of the people, we shall advocate tolerance and equal privileges for all, special privileges for none."

An article on January 15 asserts again the claim for equality of treatment: "Denominational schools ask for no special favour; the last thing their supporters wish to do is to tax opponents for their maintenance; but they do ask that their money shall not be withdrawn from the schools of which they approve in order to maintain an objectionable system."

On May 20 of the same year he discussed the transfer of Church Schools to the School Boards,

pointing out the fact that where this was done "the only thing that is certain is that the kind of religious education designed by the founders of the school cannot under any circumstances be imparted." The cost of education would fall on all ratepayers, not on a few benevolent people; but "when the question comes to be debated whether it is better to make sacrifices to educate the rising generation in the principles of the Church, or to let them grow up without any definite religious education in order that the cost of such education may be thrown upon the rates, there is danger of our not being far from a second question, viz., Why devote endowments to secure the instruction of adults in the doctrines of the Church when they might have been taught to believe a multitude of religions without any need for endowments? 'Feed my lambs' was a charge as solemnly given by the Founder of our religion as 'Feed my sheep.' If the Church is content to surrender the care of the lambs, it cannot be expected that her regard for the sheep will be rated very high, or will continue very long."

No words could better express the convictions of the writer's heart.

Year by year, amid parochial work which would have been more than enough to exhaust the energies of most strong men, Mr. Gregory held on at the National Society, preaching week by week his ideal of an education which should be at once national and religious.

Canon Erskine Clarke, who was long associated with his educational work, writes of it thus:—

"As one who sat for many years at the Board of the National Society under the Chairmanship of Dean Gregory, I have a lively recollection of the interest which he took in the work. He used to walk along the Embankment from the Deanery, and always arrived with almost absolute punctuality for the meetings. He had evidently carefully studied at home the agenda with the lists of applications, so that he was ready to state the circumstances of each case and to propose the grant which he thought should be made. He always did so with much sympathy for poor parishes, especially in Wales, where good work appeared to be going on, but he had small tolerance for the well-to-do parishes. It was a favourite plan of his to suggest a grant much above the usual scale on condition that the whole sum required should be raised, so as to encourage managers to clear off their debts. For many years (till 1895) Dean Gregory acted as Treasurer for the Society and gave keen attention to its finances, which he managed with so great skill that he left them in excellent condition. It was by his foresight and capable negotiations that the Society was able to move from the rooms long occupied behind Westminster Court-House to the first-rate freehold premises in Great Peter Street, without making any special appeal or crippling the funds available for grants.

"The Dean was a very keen and outspoken politician. He had no liking for the legislation of 1870, and did not mince his language when he had to speak on the School Board system

either at meetings or in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, where for many years he was a notable figure and wielded much influence."

During the period of incubation of the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897 he was in the counsels of those who were engaged in preparing it, and he is believed to have helped to draw up the provision that schools should be rated at a sum which a willing tenant would pay who had to fulfil the obligations of the trust deeds. His interest in the Society and in education remained firm to the end.

His own notes of a conference (February 11, 1891) with Lord Cranbrook and Mr. W. H. Smith, before the Bill of 1891, follow:—

"The following points were discussed, with which I substantially agreed. This applies to the paragraphs not included in brackets: those in brackets were not discussed, and are only mentioned as suggestions to be considered.

"I. That there should be a free school within reach of every child, and that a maximum grant of 10s. be made for every child attending such a school. The sum might be varied so as not to exceed a fourth of the sum expended on the child's education, provided that every school spending more than £2 (or £3) on each child was required to give a reason satisfactory to the Department for expenditure beyond that sum on pain of forfeiting the grant.

"That where a school is the only elementary school within an area of 2 miles, it is compulsory upon it to be free.

"That where there are more schools than one within such area, it be at the option of the managers to make the schools free and receive the special grant, or to retain a system of fees not to exceed 9d. a week on the average, and enjoying the same advantages from the Government grant as at present: provided always that a sufficient number of schools are free to satisfy the requirements of a previous clause.

"II. That there be placed upon the Committee of Management of every free school, a minority, say one, two, or at most three, of the parents of the children attending the school, to be elected by all the parents of such children.

"III. That in thinly peopled neighbourhoods where there is only one elementary school, and that a voluntary one, the County Council may require, on the petition of a certain number of the inhabitants of the district for whose benefit the school exists, to erect a class-room in which the children of parents not belonging to the religious body represented by the managers of the school may receive religious instruction from the ministers or authorised representatives of the religious body to which their parents belong. And in all Board Schools, whether town or country, the Cowper Temple clause be so far relaxed as to allow clergymen or authorised representatives of the religious bodies to which the parents belong to give definite dogmatic instruction to those children whose parents wish them to receive it. And in all cases the time-tables shall be so arranged as to suit the convenience of such teachers, provided that

such time for religious teaching shall be at one of the times ordered by the Conscience Clause now in force.

"IV. That the special grant for free schools might be distributed to "areas" through the County Councils, and not by the Education Department to individual schools.

"V. That a charge of a fixed sum, say £1,500,000, be placed on the Consolidated Fund, so that the grants for free schools to that extent may not require an annual vote of Parliament. It would be ruinous to many Voluntary Schools if in some year Parliament should refuse to vote the grant. And, looking to possible persons who might fill the office of Vice-President of the Council, it is quite conceivable that at their instigation there might be such a refusal. Fees once destroyed in any school could not easily be reimposed, so that to lose a fixed source of income for one about which there was any uncertainty would place the schools making the change at a disadvantage.

"[VI.] Provision should be made that schools selecting to continue to charge fees may, after due notice, become free, and receive their share of the special grant, or that schools, determining in the first instance to be free, may reimpose fees on their scholars upon forfeiting the special grant.

"[Should all Board Schools be free? Where there is an option the Board Schools to be made free?]

"That any free school ejecting a child except from its being already quite full, on account of

its poverty, bad clothing, or the character of its parents, shall be liable to forfeit the special grant for the year; and it shall be sufficient evidence that a school cannot claim to be so full as to be unable to admit such a child seeking admission if any other child shall be admitted before it can be shown that a vacancy has been made by some other child previously attending having left the school."

In 1895 the Dean wrote a most interesting survey of the whole subject of popular elementary education in a volume which is still invaluable for those who study its history.

The epitaph that would best describe the long work for education was that of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1906, when he called Dean Gregory "the foremost veteran of the fight for maintaining definite religious teaching."

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL IN 1849

CHAPTER IV

ST. PAUL'S, 1868–1912

The last years at Lambeth were made happy by Mr. Gregory's marriage, on July 17, 1861, to Charlotte Anne, daughter of Admiral the Hon. Sir Robert Stopford. How happy was the marriage, how gracious and sympathetic the wife, is known to all who were friends in the forty years that followed. Mrs. Gregory died in 1904. Of the three daughters, Eleanor, Christiana, and Alice, it shall only be said here that they made their father's life happy to the end. His sons were serving the Church with all the earnestness and devotion which comes of right to the children of such a father; one in England, the other first in Madagascar for many years and then as Bishop of Mauritius. If in response to their wish nothing is said here of those who were with him at the last, it is impossible to recall him to mind without their being an ineffaceable part of the picture. There is a story which may speak for itself at the very beginning of those many years of affection. When the hard poverty of the years at Lambeth was at last relieved by the appointment to St. Paul's, the father's first reference to the emoluments was: "Now we can get a rocking-horse for the little

children." No affection could be closer than that between Mr. Gregory and his children.

The strenuous life of a devoted parish priest and the services which he had rendered in the general work of the Church had made Mr. Gregory well known in London; but many may have thought that statesmen in power would have been afraid of giving "promotion" to a man of opinions so definite and of such determination in expressing them. Mr. Disraeli, however, was not a timid person, and his own views on social questions and on the difficulties and sorrows of the poor were reflected in the energetic action of Mr. Gregory; though a letter of Bishop Wilberforce's shows that there was a certain reluctance to appoint a man whom some believed to be "extreme." Whether party politics were also considered in the matter we need not enquire. It is enough to remember that the work at Lambeth was widely recognised—a letter of Jenny Lind's, which she asked should not be published, for it is evidence of the generosity of her sympathy, witnesses to the fact. Now it led to such reward as it is in the power of statesmen to give—a call to new work which was in its way as difficult as the old.

I turn now to my relations with St. Paul's Cathedral, which formed one of the most interesting portions of my life.

Nominated to a Canonry there in November 1868, when I was nearly fifty years old, I was installed on St. Thomas' Day in the following

month. My nomination had not been pleasing to the existing Canons, and Archdeacon Hale, to whom was entrusted the task of installing me, apparently desired to mark this by the manner in which the service was arranged. On a specially dark evening of the shortest day in the year, after the four o'clock service, every light in the Cathedral was turned out; some friends from Lambeth who had come to see me installed were compelled to leave the Cathedral before the service for my installation commenced, and the only persons allowed to remain were my wife and children. A procession was then formed; a virger walking first with a small taper in his hand provided the only light in the Cathedral, then myself and after me Archdeacon Hale; we walked to the high altar at the extreme east end of the Cathedral, and then the usual service was read by the Archdeacon, and I was placed in a chair instead of a stall, and we returned to the vestry. A more miserable and disgracefully slovenly service I never saw. I knew a little of one of the Minor Canons of St. Paul's[1] through his brother, who had a manufactory in my parish in Lambeth, and efficiently helped me as Treasurer of some of the parochial

[1] This was Mr. Coward, who died only a few months before the Dean in 1911.

charities. Immediately after my nomination to a Canonry, his brother, the Minor Canon, invited me to dine with him in Amen Court, where he lived in one of the Canons' houses, having charge of the chorister boys, who were day scholars living within reach of St. Paul's. After dinner he talked freely with me about the state of things at the Cathedral. Amongst other things he said, "Let me venture to give you some advice. The position you are about to fill is a very good one, and one that you may thoroughly enjoy; but do not imagine that you can make any changes or improvements. Every new Canon when he comes is full of plans for doing this, that, and the other, by which he may amend the existing state of things; but take my word for it, this is an Augean Stable that nobody on earth can sweep, therefore let things take their course, and do not trouble about them." He went on further to say, "I know the Minor Canons do not fulfil all their duties, but there is no fear of the Chapter finding fault with them, for none of them do the duties to which they are pledged." In course of a further conversation, he clearly showed that he thought things would run on in their present course until there was a convulsion, when it was impossible to foretell what might happen.

The conversation which I had with my friend

the Minor Canon, deepened in me the conviction I had long entertained, that one great reason why additions to the services of the Church were not welcome, as they should be, to the laity, and made the most of, arose from the responsible clergymen failing to show their appreciation of their value by their example. Thus in parishes where daily services or frequent celebrations of Holy Communion were introduced, the clergy came when they were responsible for the service, but only irregularly when they were not. This left the impression upon the minds of lay people that they did not much value taking part in the prayers or attach much real spiritual importance to them, but that they only had them said as a matter of duty. Their example is looked to; if they habitually come when they are not obliged, then it seems that they really value what they invite others to take part in; when they do not, others soon find it inconvenient and a burden to put other things aside in order to be present. This holds specially true with Cathedral Choirs. If the Dean and Canons seldom or never come, except when they are obliged, the inferior members feel it a hardship that those who are placed highest, and receive the largest incomes, are rarely found in their places for prayers,

whilst themselves are compelled to be there. Whilst if their superiors are never absent when it is possible for them to be present, the inferior members of the body feel the whole position of things changed. Throughout my connection with the Cathedral, I made it my endeavour to realise this, as I have striven to do when I was a parish priest. As illustrative of the state of things I may mention that some years later the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Temple, told me that when he was a young man he attended St. Paul's one Sunday morning, intending to remain for Holy Communion. When the earlier part of the service was over, a virger came to him and said, "I hope, sir, you are not intending to remain for the sacrament, as that will give the Minor Canon the trouble of celebrating, which otherwise he will not do." Upon this Mr. Temple left the Cathedral.

Thus he began, clearly, trenchantly, to write of the great work he was called upon to do at St. Paul's. What it was that needed to be done has often been told—by none more simply and truthfully than himself. It might be summed up in words once uttered by Bishop Blomfield: "I wonder what that great building has ever done for the cause of Jesus Christ." Those words were said more than half a century ago. No one could say them now.

What Church did, and Liddon did, and many others, and Gregory himself, has been eloquently told. But it must not be thought that their work was entirely foreign to the traditions of the Church to which they belonged, or even novel at the day when they undertook it. St. Paul's had, though a century and more back, a great history of devoted service: never more so than in the days of those sermons of Donne immortalised by Izaak Walton. And the monument of Donne was fitly the one memorial which had survived the fire, to encourage his successors. Other Cathedral churches had revived, some, it may be hoped, had never lost, the customs of reverent devotion and the care of all those who were engaged in the holy service. Similar to the aims of Robert Gregory in 1868 were those of Walter Kerr Hamilton when he became Canon and Treasurer (he was afterwards Precentor and ultimately Bishop) of Salisbury in 1841. Mr. Hamilton was like Mr. Gregory in being no musician, but he set himself to do all that was possible to make the musical service reverent, beautiful, and appropriate to the Church's seasons: he devoted "much time and effort to forming the intimate acquaintance of the choristers and lay vicars, with a view to leading them to feel their high privilege in taking so prominent a part in the worship of God, and to replacing the perfunctory and irreverent spirit, which is too common in Cathedral choirs, by a sincere and earnest devotion." And his attendance at the Cathedral services was regular all the year round. "He allowed nothing to interfere with an obligation

so binding upon himself, and so stimulating, by way of example, to others." He revived the use of the Cathedral for constant services, early and late; he preached continually; and he did his utmost to secure that the Cathedral Chapter should be really resident and engaged in definite duties connected with the Cathedral church. What he had begun in practice he set forth, when he became Bishop, in a letter to the Members of his Diocese, in 1855, on "Cathedral Reform." In this he said — "Let Deans and Canons be the best of men, yet, if they have parishes, their hearts will probably be in the duties of their care of souls, and the three months' residence at the Cathedral will have passed away before they have undertaken any real, definite work; and, of course, any continued engagement in such work as specially belongs to Cathedrals is absolutely impossible."

We learn all this from Dr. Liddon's memoir of Bishop Hamilton, published in 1869; and it is easy to see how the influence of the Bishop, reflected in the life and aims of his chaplain, proved, when that chaplain found himself at St. Paul's with Mr. Gregory, fruitful in the reorganisation of the services and duties attached to that great Cathedral. The period which began with Walter Kerr Hamilton at Salisbury in 1841 may be said to conclude with Edward White Benson at Truro in 1878, and it may be called the Epoch of Cathedral Reform. The aims of the prime movers in it were the same throughout. Dr. Benson's *The Cathedral: its necessary place in the life and work*

of the Church (1878) echoes and enforces with its author's own peculiar skill the lessons which study and experience had taught him, as they had taught his predecessors. He insists, for example, on the necessity of extending "to the Canons the law which already requires Deans to reside nine months," and his wide ideal of Cathedral worship—"the ceaseless supplication for grace, the perpetual intercession, the endless praise—unbroken yet ever new—like Nature herself with daily-varying, never-changing majesty"—is that which by this time St. Paul's was setting conspicuously before the nation and the Church. The copy of this book, used and very carefully marked and noted by Dean Church (now in my possession) serves to link the aims of Archbishop Benson to the realisation in the great London church. During all this period public attention was being directed to the Cathedrals. Dean Goulburn's book *On the Principles of the Cathedral System*, 1870, is another example, which stands midway in the time; and Dr. Goulburn was a close friend of Mr. Gregory. So the Epoch of Cathedral Reform, in which many good men were active, may be said, though it did not originate there, to find its centre, and its most complete success, in St. Paul's.

The task before the reformers at St. Paul's was a heavy one. It was on the practical side that it first appealed to Mr. Gregory. And what was needed, and what he did, when he first became Canon, is thus told by himself. What he tells illustrates much that we have said above.

The circumstance already narrated about my installation showed me that there was plenty of room for improvement; and the first impression was speedily confirmed by everything that I saw. The most ordinary improvements with respect to the dress of the clergy officiating, and the ordering of the services that were found elsewhere, had not been introduced at St. Paul's. No clergyman wore a cassock; there was little or no order in entering the Cathedral at service time; the Canon came from his vestry, and the Minor Canons and singing men and boys from theirs, and met at the mouth of the choir, stragglers taking their seats afterwards. The choir was wretched; it consisted of six or eight boys and two, three, or four men, just as they happened to turn up. The appointed music had sometimes to be changed, because there were not men of the right voice to sing what was appointed. At the Celebration of Holy Communion there was no credence table for the Elements, but all were placed on the Altar just as they would have been in a Dissenting Chapel. No voluntary was played as the clergy and choir entered the church; and the choir men read letters and talked during the service, and it was never known for more than one member of the Chapter to be present at a service except on very

special occasions; the Minor Canons attended more regularly, because there was a fund divided amongst them according to the number of their attendances. All the services were in the choir; that in the morning of Sundays and week-days at 9.45, that in the afternoon at 3.15. I have several times gone into the Cathedral on Sunday mornings when there was not a single person present; a few gathered as the service proceeded, whilst the number of communicants (there was a celebration nominally every Sunday morning) was very small. The attendance of people at the afternoon service on Sundays was better, and perhaps amounted to 100 or 120, except during the singing of the anthem, when a number of people assembled at the mouth of the choir and left so soon as the anthem had been sung. The number of persons at the daily services was painfully small.[1]

When I was made a member of the Chapter, it consisted of Dr. Mansel, who was appointed Dean on the death of Dean Milman, the month before I was nominated to be a Canon; Archdeacon Hale, who was also Master of the Charter-

[1] The print of St. Paul's in 1840, which is reproduced as an illustration, p. 155, shows the bareness of the apse, and is apparently designed to illustrate the irreverence of the choir, but the figures can only be regarded as fanciful, even by those who most violently malign the past.

house, and who took much the most interest in the affairs of the Cathedral; Dr. Dale, who was also Rector of Therfield in Hertfordshire; and Canon Melville, who was also Rector of Barnes. The vacancy that I filled was made by the promotion of Canon Champneys to the Deanery of Lichfield.

After my installation, Canon Champneys, who held the Vicarage of St. Pancras together with the Canonry, and also Canon Dale, whom Champneys had succeeded at St. Pancras when he had taken the Rectory of Therfield, strongly urged me to hold St. Pancras together with the Canonry; as Mr. Disraeli had suggested that I should do when he offered me the Canonry. This I steadfastly refused to do, as I felt that holding a benefice with a Canonry was to a considerable extent a cause of the interests of the Cathedral being so grievously neglected. I therefore determined to vacate my benefice in Lambeth so soon as I could secure a successor to carry on such work as I had commenced, and, that I might have no pecuniary inducement to retain it, I resolved that the income of the benefice should all be given away in charity. Five years later the Rector of Lambeth agreed to appoint one of my Curates, and I resigned.

The state of things, as will be seen from what

I have already said, was not encouraging at St. Paul's. From the first I did not shrink from speaking very plainly to my colleagues on the subject. I insisted that we ought to endeavour to make the Cathedral the centre of the religious life of the diocese, and make it more worthy of filling such a position. A feeble effort had been made to decorate the Cathedral a few years previously: a portion of the roof of the choir had been gilded, and two of the eight spandrils of the dome had been filled with mosaics, the design for one of them having been given by Stephens and of the other by Watts. But the funds raised were soon exhausted, and there was nothing in the condition of the Cathedral to tempt people to give more. Beyond the annual services for the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, for S.P.G., and for the gathering of the charity children which had been carried on within its walls for more than a century, nothing was done. At an early Chapter after my appointment, I stated my views very plainly, upon which Archdeacon Hale, thinking to show up an inconsistency which he expected, said, "Here is an application for the Bible Society to hold their annual service in St. Paul's; what do you say to that?" I at once responded that I would gladly welcome them.

It was not the Society that I should naturally have welcomed to begin with, but on that account it formed a more valuable precedent.

A more important matter occurred in the following November. I was in residence, and, being very much annoyed at the miserable attendance of choirmen on All Saints Day, on the following morning, instead of following the virger into the Dean's vestry after the conclusion of the service, I turned the other way when coming out of the choir and accompanied the choir into the south aisle, where they vested; then, closing the iron gate, I asked all present to remain for a few minutes, as I had something to say to them. I then spoke of the disgraceful attendance of the singing men, and the miserable services we had in consequence. I then proceeded as quickly as I could to a meeting of the Ritual Commission which met that morning, thinking no more of what had happened. Returning home from the Ritual Commission, I saw to my surprise on the placards of the evening papers at the news shops the announcement of "Extraordinary proceedings at St. Paul's." I instantly procured a paper, and then read all that I had said to the choir. This seemed to attract general interest, as it was copied into newspapers all over the country. I had papers with it in sent me from

distant parts of Scotland. My colleagues were much scandalised at the publicity thus given to the state of things at St. Paul's, and Archdeacon Hale proposed that we should revive the discipline Chapter that for many years in old times used to sit every Saturday. This was done, and that Chapter has very usefully sat on every Saturday since that time, and has taken note of all lapses of duty during the preceding week.

Another important change grew out of the formation of this Saturday Chapter. The Sunday and week-day services up to that time were at 9.45 and 3.15. The early hour on Sundays was apparently fixed for the convenience of the Minor Canons, all of whom had benefices in the City, and who were able to take part in the service in their own churches by leaving the Cathedral before the sermon; whilst the early hour for evensong on week-days was most inconvenient for any business men who might wish to be present. The new time fixed for the Sunday morning service was 10.30, as it was felt that if it were later it would be inconvenient for the vicars choral, all of whom were obliged to live at a distance from the Cathedral on account of the high rents charged for houses near the Cathedral, and who had to return in time for the service at

3.15. The hours for the week-day services were fixed at 10 and 4. The change was made on Advent Sunday (November 28) 1869.

A year after Mr. Gregory's appointment as Canon of St. Paul's the opportunity of work for which he was exceptionally qualified was given him by a vacancy in the post of Treasurer of the Cathedral. Early in 1869 he studied the statutes of the Cathedral with the hope of discovering means of remedying the anarchy which he found in its government. He then suggested that "the proper starting point" would be "to unite the offices of Treasurer, Precentor, and Chancellor to the Canonries, and that their work and stipend might go together." The proposal was accepted, and on the death of the Treasurer shortly afterwards, it was carried unanimously by the Chapter, who requested the Bishop of London, in whose hands the nomination lay, to appoint Canon Gregory to the office. It is an illustration of the difficulties that beset Cathedral reformers, that no sooner was this agreement arrived at, and the unanimous request conveyed to the Bishop, than one of the Canons changed his mind, and he privately urged the Bishop not to assent to the proposal. Mr. Gregory first heard of this through a chance meeting with the Bishop, and he was not unnaturally astonished. The correspondence which ensued is notable in the curious records of Cathedral life. The matter is worth a word or two, for it became mixed up with the new

Canon's efforts to reform the choir, and its satisfactory conclusion made it possible for him to do what no one else had strength to do, and to start the movement which made St. Paul's what it is to-day. A few extracts will illustrate these points. The Canon who had changed his mind wrote thus to Mr. Gregory on November 3, 1869, to explain his singular behaviour:—

"After last Friday's Chapter, it came into my mind to consider in detail the duties of the Treasurer's office, and how they would be exercised by one perfectly conversant with the Statutes of the Cathedral, and as impressed with the sense of our defects as you appear to be; and I came to the conclusion that were the Sacristan and Virgers under your command the government of the Cathedral would pass from the hands of the Dean into yours. This I communicated to the Dean, who did not see the matter as clearly as I do, and having fears that you would use your power to make changes in the management of the church such as the other members of the Chapter would not approve, I informed the Bishop that I had changed my opinion as to the expediency of uniting the Treasurership to your Canonry. You must pardon me for thinking that the account given in the *Morning Post* to-day of a scene in St. Paul's Cathedral justifies in some degree my doubts in this matter."

The "scene" was the deserved rebuke the autobiography has already recorded; and to this Dean Mansel referred when he wrote next day to Mr. Gregory:—

"Hunstanton, *Nov.* 4, 1869.

"I am sorry that you have embroiled yourself with the choir in the matter of the procession. I had noticed an irregularity the last evening I was at the Cathedral, and had any one of the senior men been there I should have endeavoured to arrange matters quietly through him. The next morning the procession was better, but there was still no senior, but I had intended immediately after my return to speak with them through one of themselves. By a little quiet management one may do something, but a public rebuke and an open rupture will, I fear, make the matter far more difficult for me to deal with. These men have had their own way so long under the old *régime* that it is far easier to lead than to drive them. They are like spoilt children, and have points of dignity which no one but themselves would dream of. As regards the other matter, —— told me two days after the meeting that he had quite changed his mind about the Treasurership. I told him that I had written to tell the Bishop that the whole Chapter concurred in the view I suggested. He admitted that he had concurred at the time, but said that on further consideration he had changed his mind and should tell the Bishop so, which I think he had a right to do, as my former letter had mentioned him as concurring in an opinion which he no longer holds. He informed —— and myself in the vestry of his change of opinion, and under these circumstances I thought he was justified in informing the Bishop also."

Gregory replied to his brother Canon: "I am not surprised that *you* think the account of what happened in the Cathedral justifies your feeling that I am unfit for the office of Treasurer. Hitherto everybody outside the Cathedral has cried shame upon our services; our own officers, whenever spoken to on the subject, invariably do the same; and some of us certainly deeply feel the truth of what is said. It occurred to me that the proper plan was to speak openly to the choir, as private remonstrance has failed, and that it was not fair to those we blamed if we failed to use a single means to excite them to a proper discharge of their duties. . . . I deeply feel that we cannot stay as we are. Public attention is now drawn to us, and I cannot but hope that it will not leave us alone till all necessary improvements have been made."

On the 5th of November the Canon, who had changed his opinion again, endeavoured to justify his change, and took occasion to add: "I certainly regret the publicity which has been given to the expression of your feeling in the Cathedral. I had reason to think that the Chapter were not only fully aware of the defective condition of the choir, but that they were even proceeding rapidly to amend it. And I fear lest persons whom you did not mean to offend may take affront and throw impediments in our way. I am as fully sensible as you can be of our defects; but on the other hand, I venture to state that not a year has passed, for a long period, without improvements taking place for which there is every reason to be thankful.

We may be a long way from perfection, but we have not been standing still, like persons satisfied with their condition."

Mr. Gregory's answer was characteristic: "I am very glad to find that our divergence of opinion is narrowed to so small a point. You still think that the office of Treasurer with a Canonry would be most advantageous to the interests of the Cathedral, but that I am so dangerous a man that the present system, or want of system, would be better than the amended one with me to administer it. I am too anxious to see the Cathedral rescued from its present position of anarchy to allow any personal feelings to stand in the way of so desirable a change." He begged that some other of the Canons should hold the office, and added: "Don't let us lose this opportunity of improving the management of the Cathedral; and if my standing aside conduces to this, I will as gladly stand aside as I would burden myself with fresh duties if that were thought most desirable."

Happily it was not long before harmony was restored in the Chapter. Dr. Mansel was far too eminent a man to feel any petty jealousy, and far too acute a man not to recognise the abilities of the new Canon. Mr. Michael Gibbs, Vicar of Christ Church, Newgate Street, was appointed Treasurer; but Mr. Gregory managed the finances (though he was not collated to the Treasurership till 1882), and a great impetus was given to the movement for reform. The record now turns aside for a moment to a subject in which Mr. Gregory was always keenly interested.

I was very anxious to see something done for the further decoration of St. Paul's: I felt that the very little which had been accomplished only served to make more manifest the plainness and coldness of the blank, dirty walls of the Cathedral, which had been painted probably in the days of Sir Christopher Wren, and had been neither washed nor repainted since: but the task was a serious one, and it occurred to me that the first step I ought to take was to see how other churches of a similar style of architecture were decorated. I therefore resolved to go to Italy to see especially St. Peter's at Rome. This I accordingly did, taking with me my eldest son. I could lay claim to no artistic knowledge, nor to any artistic taste which would enable me to give hints to those entrusted with the work, but to see what others had done would to some extent educate the eye, and preserve me from making foolish suggestions.

On my return I proposed to my colleagues that we should revive the Decoration Committee, and see whether something more might be done. After several discussions, sometimes of a rather acrimonious character, this was agreed to, and in the early part of 1870 the members of the old Committee were called together, and

a few new ones added to them. Before this Committee could accomplish anything, a number of changes took place in the constitution of the Chapter, which caused delays, and, in fact, nothing was really done until after the formation of a new Chapter. Early in the year 1871, Canon Dale was nominated to the Deanery of Rochester, and was installed just before Easter, when Dr. Liddon was happily selected by Mr. Gladstone to take his place as Canon of St. Paul's. On July 13, 1872, a public meeting to inaugurate the undertaking was held at the Mansion House, when subscriptions to the amount of £25,000 were promised, and it was stated that the sum required would be £250,000. The Lord Mayor was in the Chair; the Bishop of London, the Dean, and several influential laymen spoke, and the meeting seemed generally impressed with the idea that something ought to be done. Shortly afterwards Archdeacon Hale became seriously ill, and early in November he died, and Bishop Claughton, who was then presiding over the Diocese of Colombo, was nominated by the Bishop of London to succeed him, but was unable to return home to be installed for some months. Early in the following February, to my great grief, Canon Melville died, and his

Canonry was filled by Mr. Gladstone nominating Dr. Lightfoot, who was transferred a few years later to the See of Durham. In little more than two years, I thus became Senior Canon.

With the advent of Dr. Liddon to St. Paul's a new state of things commenced. His fame as a preacher was great, and so soon as it was known that he was to preach in St. Paul's, a large congregation assembled. The choir would no longer find room for them; and Dr. Liddon preached from the pulpit under the dome, which had been placed there for Sunday evening services that had been commenced during the great Exhibition of 1851. The choir was made to attend somewhat more regularly; the services were more reverent, and it was felt that a new spirit was beginning to stir in the Cathedral.

As a matter of fact, the first decisive step dates from Mr. Gregory's management of the finances. Miss Church says:[1] "Canon Gregory, to whom, as Treasurer, the work of fighting for terms fell [with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners],[2] had gone into the fray possessed of a distinct and complete conception of the work that a Cathedral

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 215 *sqq.*

[2] See below, pp. 179–80.

might do, and of the funds that would be necessary to its achievement. He had planned out this work on a large scale, with the conviction that whatever the Metropolitan Cathedral attempted to do should be done with nobility and distinction. With this plan before him he demanded a staff, an equipment, a plant, a stock of corporate resources, adequate to the intention. These, instead of being pinched down to the lowest level of efficiency, must be enlarged and enriched beyond their present scope to meet the strain of multiplied services, and of a church continuously open and in use. The Commissioners were impressed with the practical reality of the Treasurer's design, and recognised that his large demands were all regulated by a strict eye to business. They became content to entrust the Cathedral with the funds that such a scheme necessitated. The actual settlement of the scheme, in all its details, occupied most of the first years of the new Dean's rule. It involved a complete revision of each and every department of the Cathedral staff. But it was an immense gain for him that the preliminaries were through and that all was in train by the time that he arrived, and that he inherited a Treasurer keen to press on with a work already in hand and intimately congenial."

It is of the beginning of his work that Mr. Gregory now tells. It may here be noted that he was Treasurer in a double sense: first to the Cathedral, an honorary post,[1] later to the Chapter, the position of real importance. From this point

[1] See below, p. 180.

it will be well not to interrupt the continuous narrative written by the Dean.

There was now every chance for an entirely altered state of things at St. Paul's. Nearly all who would be inclined to oppose improvements had been removed by death, and those appointed to succeed them were as anxious as I could be that St. Paul's should occupy the position it ought to fill. The removal of all but one of the old Canons brought necessity for the commutation of the Chapter estates with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners within reasonable distance. It was therefore only to be expected that the Commissioners should invite us to take the initial steps. Accordingly Dean Mansel and I waited upon Mr. Youle, who represented the Commissioners in transactions of the kind, and the Dean endeavoured to impress upon Mr. Youle the importance of dealing liberally with the Cathedral on account of the sources from which its income had been derived and the circumstances connected with it. His speech was somewhat lengthy, and Mr. Youle grew impatient, and said, "I must see you again," and named another day when we were to repeat our visit. At the second interview our good Dean was not more successful than at the

first, and when it was over Mr. Youle sent for our Chapter clerk, Mr. Lee, and said to him, "Tell Canon Gregory, that if he brings that Dean of his again I will not give St. Paul's a penny more than I am obliged." We were then very near the holidays, and nothing more could be done until he returned from the country.

In 1871 consideration was given for a proposal to diminish the income of the Rectory of St. Peter le Poer in Broad Street, which amounted to nearly £2000 a year, whilst the population was very small; and it was determined to take of this sum £1125, and add £200 a year to the income of four large ill-endowed parishes in St. Pancras, to give £125 to a fifth, and to further the creation of two new district parishes, also in the parish of St. Pancras, by appropriating £100 a year to each of them, and calling upon the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to raise the endowment of these two new parishes to £300 a year each. This was successfully done; the new parishes were constituted, and a church has been built on each of them.

At the same time it was resolved that a member of my Chapter should be appointed Treasurer, and be responsible for overseeing all the financial affairs of the Cathedral, reporting on them to the Chapter, the appointment to be annual. I was

appointed and have been re-elected every year since. The office is unpaid. Up to that time, no member of the Chapter had oversight of the finances; all was placed in the hands of the Receiver. All that the Canons did was to sign the Cathedral bills for payment at the end of every quarter without knowing anything at all about them. Orders were also given for fitting up the North-West Chapel as a Chapel,[1] the east end to be raised and an altar to be placed therein. Up to this time the Chapel had been seated all round with a great table in the centre, round which the worshippers at the early (8 o'clock) matins knelt every morning. Shortly after this we had early celebrations in this Chapel, at first on Sundays and Saints' days, afterwards every day.

Dean Mansel went to his old home at Cosgrove to stay at his sister's house (she had married her cousin, who was the squire) shortly after the interview with Mr. Youle. There he died most suddenly on the last day of July. A few days later I buried him in the churchyard at Cosgrove, in a spot which he had himself chosen.

Our anxiety was now about his successor. On the day I heard of the Dean's death, I met Mrs. Gladstone, one of whose sons was then working

[1] Now called St. Dunstan's Chapel.

with me at Lambeth. We talked over the importance of the choice that would be made by the Prime Minister. She kindly said: "Come to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, and say to Mr. Gladstone what you have said to me." I hoped that Dr. Liddon would be appointed. Whilst we were talking, Sir Robert Phillimore came in. He said: "How well do I remember meeting Bishop Blomfield on Ludgate Hill, and his saying to me, 'I look at that great Cathedral and think of its large revenues and great responsibilities, and ask myself what good is it doing to this great city, and I feel compelled to answer, not any to a single soul in it.'" Mr. Gladstone first offered the Deanery to Dr. Hook, who was then Dean of Chichester, and, on his refusing it, to Rev. R. W. Church, who after some hesitation and many doubts, happily for the good of the Cathedral, accepted it. These changes necessarily stopped the commutation negotiations for a time. Early in the next year they were renewed. In the meantime an event had occurred which helped materially to facilitate the arrangements.

The Prince of Wales had a very serious attack of illness, and for a time his life was despaired of. Happily he recovered, to the great joy of the nation. In a sermon preached by Dr. Liddon in

the Cathedral, he said: "If such an event had happened in some preceding ages, the Queen and her nobles would have united with the loyal citizens in offering up hearty thanksgiving in this great church of the Metropolis for the mercies God has vouchsafed to the nation." This was repeated to the Queen by someone who had been present, and Her Majesty announced her intention of doing what the preacher had suggested. On the appointed day, February 27, 1872, the Cathedral was crowded with a vast congregation, galleries having been erected wherever convenient positions for them could be found; the whole nation rang with what was being done in St. Paul's, and people seemed to begin to realise that Cathedrals might be made to fill an important position in the development of Church life.

Before proceeding further to describe what has been attempted and done at St. Paul's to make it a more complete representative of Church spiritual life in London, it may be well to say something of the condition into which this Cathedral had fallen; and probably it resembled the Cathedrals in other parts of the country, the influence and circumstances by which it had been moulded to become what it was having equally affected them.

The primary idea for the Cathedral was that it

should contain the Bishop's throne, and as such, the place where in an especial manner he should meet the clergy and laity over whom he was appointed to preside. On great and important occasions it was here that great assemblies of the people of the Diocese were held to give thanks for victories obtained over enemies, for relief from any scourge of famine or sickness by which the nation had been visited, for entreating God's mercy when any severe sorrow or calamity seemed to be impending, and for the clergy to take counsel with their bishop respecting matters affecting the doctrine or discipline of the Church. Beside this, within the walls of the Cathedral there was to be a continuous strain of prayer and praise, and the "showing forth of the death of the Lord till He come," ever sounding to remind all who would listen that there is something higher and better than life in this world, and that to this the chief church in the Diocese was to be the noblest and most inspiring witness. To enable this important end to be accomplished, those who founded Cathedrals endowed them with a sufficient income to secure an able and accomplished body of clergy to minister at their altars; of choirmen and boys to chant melodiously the services that were being continually held; and for all other

requisite purposes. Beside this, there were connected with them a number of small special endowments, each of them applicable to the support of a priest to live in or near the land given as endowment, who should minister to the people in that immediate neighbourhood. The holders of these endowments were called prebendaries, some of whom were called into residence from time to time, and in conjunction with the Dean (where the Cathedral was not connected with a monastic institution), governed the Cathedral. The Cathedral of St. Paul's, from its position in the Metropolis, after the nation became Christian, necessarily became very prominent, as within its walls the kings and great men of the nation were frequently gathered on such occasions as those that have been named above.

It could not have been many centuries after the foundation of the Cathedrals that the state of things by which they were surrounded became materially altered. The whole country was divided into parishes, but there was no longer need for the labours of the prebendary on or near the plot of land from which his income was derived; whilst the increasing splendour of the Cathedrals and the munificent gifts which were showered upon them (notably upon St. Paul's) made their chief offices, the much-coveted, wealthy positions in the Church.

Then came the long and dreary reign of pluralities. The possessions of the Church were eagerly seized upon by men who sought wealth for themselves rather than the spiritual good of those for whom that wealth was given. The public services of the Church were scrupulously, often magnificently, rendered, but there was a grievous lack of that piety and religious enthusiasm which are essentially necessary for any spiritual office to reach the hearts and influence the lives of those for whose benefit it was called into existence. Under these circumstances what had been was continued, but no effort was made to adjust the work of the Cathedral to the altered circumstances of the time. The Canons, chiefly interested with the benefice or benefices that they held elsewhere, kept their statutable attendances at the Cathedral, but the direction of its affairs and the ordering of its customary services naturally fell into the hands of members of the Cathedral filling subordinate positions.

To a greater or less extent such was the condition of all the Cathedrals in England half a century since, but at St. Paul's an additional difficulty had been placed in the path of those responsible for its government. The glorious old Cathedral had been burnt down in 1666, and a new one erected, partly by the liberality of some generous

benefactors, but to a still greater extent by the proceeds of the coal tax that had been voted by Parliament for the purpose. This tax had not only supplied all that had been required, but had left a small surplus, which had been invested and brought in a very few hundreds of pounds annually, which were applicable to the repairs of the building. In addition to this, some time in the eighteenth century, Dr. Clarke, Dean of Winchester, had left to the Cathedral by his will the profit lease of the Manor of Tillingham, the freehold of which belonged to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. The first £300 of annual profit that this lease yielded was to be divided in sums of £30 each to ten poor benefices named by the benefactor, and in the event of the profit exceeding that sum, such surplus was to be given to the Chapter of St. Paul's for the support or improvement of the fabric. Early in the nineteenth century that surplus amounted to £630 annually, and the Trustees, forgetting or ignorant of the terms of Dean Clarke's will, gave £100 each to nine of the poor benefices and £30 to the tenth. This tenth Incumbent, feeling himself to be unfairly treated, commenced an action against Dean Clarke's Trustees, when the will had to be produced, and even-handed justice was dispensed by the payment

to all the benefices being reduced to £30, and the balance being handed over for the benefit of the fabric of St. Paul's. There was thus a sum of nearly £700 a year specially provided for keeping the fabric in repair. This led the then Dean and Chapter to the conclusion that they were no longer responsible for providing the money needed for that purpose, although by statute a first charge upon all endowments of the Cathedral had been assigned by its founders and benefactors to maintaining the fabric and the keeping up the services. In the eyes of those responsible for the Cathedral this provision had been superseded by the later Act of Parliament, under the provisions of which the present Cathedral had been erected, and by the liberality of Dean Clarke. Consequent upon this the fabric and the services grievously suffered: economy was the thing chiefly thought of.

A further difficulty that was hanging over the Cathedral when I was appointed a member of its governing body was the carrying out of the Cathedral Act of 1842. By that Act all the estates of the Cathedral were to be surrendered into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and a fresh arrangement made about their income, so soon as the members of the Chapter existing at the time of the passing of the Act ceased to

hold their offices. By this Act the income of the Dean was to be £2000, and that of each of the Canons £1000; previous to that time their receipts were larger. Besides this the Prebendal stalls were to be disendowed, and the whole of the money obtained in this way was to be applied to providing an income for some of the many unendowed churches existing all over the country. To facilitate the passing of the Act, and to meet the objections of some of its opponents, it had been arranged that, instead of the Dean and Canons becoming merely stipendiaries, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should take such a proportion of the income that would have fallen to them if they had been appointed previous to the passing of the Act. This condition of things remained for some years, when a second Act of Parliament ordained that the sums specified above were to be paid by the Dean and Canons irrespective of what the income of the Cathedral might be. When I was appointed Canon, 7/22 parts of the net income of the Cathedral were paid to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and in the year 1863 the Dean had received £2337 instead of £2000, and to each of the three Canonries to which occupants had been appointed during the period intervening between the two

Acts of Parliament respecting their incomes, £1168 instead of £1000; but in the two years preceding 1863, the receipts of Dean and Canons had fallen short of the amount at which their stipends had been intended to be fixed.

When, therefore, the question of entering upon the surrender of the Chapter estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners came under consideration, the question naturally arose whether those members of the Chapter who were in receipt of an income somewhat in excess of the amount eventually to be allotted to the occupants of the stalls they held should continue to receive the larger sum they now enjoyed, or be placed on the lower level which their successors would occupy. A difference of opinion between the Chapter and the Commissioners caused a delay in making the required settlement, which as a matter of fact, was not seriously entered upon until after the death of all the members of the Chapter who were in receipt of the larger income. In 1871 and 1872 the negotiations with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were renewed, and the Dean and Canons held frequent meetings to decide upon the demands which ought to be made for the future maintenance of the Cathedral and its services. We endeavoured to

lay down a scheme of what St. Paul's ought to be. Its musical services ought to be second to none; the choristers who were to take part in those services ought to have a school provided for them in which they might be lodged and boarded as well as efficiently educated; the fabric ought to be more carefully looked after than it had been; greater precautions taken against fire than had previously existed; whilst all those who took part in the services should be liberally, but not extravagantly paid. This theory of what the Cathedral ought to be when laid before the Commissioners, or those who represented them, was approved, and an income was assigned to the Cathedral which in the opinion of the Chapter would suffice to accomplish what its members desired.

Some little time was needed to carry out what had been resolved upon. Sir John Goss, the organist, owing to advancing years, retired, and Dr. Stainer[1] succeeded him. Under his able and skilful management the choir was reorganised. The original strength of the choir was eighteen, of whom twelve were in Holy Orders, and constituted an independent corporation, and were designated Minor Canons, and the other

[1] On Lady Day 1872.

six were lay clerks and were also an independent body. Until comparatively recent times the whole eighteen occupied the same benches, and the Minor Canons took equally with the lay clerks a full share in the musical part of the service, and since I have been at St. Paul's there has been a Minor Canon who told me that he had frequently sung the solo parts in an anthem. But the laxity introduced by the Dean and Canons was contagious, and as they had only been present in the Cathedral when their allotted term of residence required them to be, the Minor Canons not unnaturally followed their example, and were only present when they were responsible for singing the service or reading the lessons; and so the choir was reduced to six men, who attended very irregularly, to whom two or three supernumeraries had been added without being placed on a regular footing. The first reform of the choir was to add twelve assistant Vicars-Choral to the six Vicars of the foundation, thus raising the number to what it had originally been.

The choristers needed also to be placed on a better footing. Until a choir school could be built, one of the Canons' houses continued to be appropriated for the choristers, who were lodged

and boarded as well as instructed. This change was made at the beginning of 1873, when No. 1 Amen Court was fitted up to receive twelve additional choristers, who were then elected and admitted by a special service compiled for the purpose; the number being increased to forty when the choir school was built. We were very fortunate in securing the services of the Rev. Albert Barff as the first head master of our resident choir school. Under his kindly and religious care the youthful members of the choir greatly assisted in raising the reverent tone of the Cathedral services, whilst carefully selected additions to the numbers of assistant Vicars-Choral, joined to the improvement in the number and qualifications of the choristers, made the musical services at St. Paul's conspicuous for their excellence as well as for the religious tone in which they were rendered. The difficulty was to find a suitable site for the new choir school. This was at last happily accomplished; the lease of some land adjoining the Deanery falling in, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners gave us the site which had formed part of the Deanery grounds, and gave us money to erect the required school. Whilst it was being built we experienced one of the annoyances to

which those who have to carry out building operations in London are liable. We placed the plans before our advisers, and the Dean with special earnestness pressed upon them possible claims for light and air. They confidently assured us that there was not the slightest danger. With this assurance we were content that matters should proceed; when the school was half built, all the owners of property opposite the school sent in claims amounting to £7000 for loss of light and air, and the advisers on whose assurances we had relied immediately turned round and told us that the claims were irresistible. Upon this we determined so to alter the plans of the building as to enable us to resist all such demands, and to wait until the buildings opposite the school should be re-erected, and raised to a height that would enable us to claim from their owners an amount sufficient to carry out our original design. This has now been partially accomplished, and it is doubtful whether it is desirable to proceed further with alterations to our buildings.

The organisation of the Cathedral was to some extent re-arranged. The fabric was protected against fire in several ways that were much needed, some of them very costly; a

complete body of workmen for keeping the building in repair was provided. The provision for showing the upper portions of the Cathedral and the crypt were placed on a different and better footing; punctuality of attendance at the services was rigorously enforced; and wherever improvements seemed to be required, efforts were made to accomplish them.

Amongst other changes that had to be made was a re-arrangement of the terms and conditions on which the virgers were engaged. For many years, probably from the time of the rebuilding of the Cathedral, they had been placed in a quasi-independent position. They received no pay from the Chapter, but were allowed to exact two pence from every person visiting the Cathedral when no service was proceeding; besides this they had a share of the money received from persons ascending to the Whispering Gallery, Library, Stone and Golden Gallery, and Ball. In 1851, owing to questions asked in Parliament, and the holding of the great Exhibition in London that year, the fee of two pence for visiting the Cathedral was discontinued, and the virgers were allowed £400 a year as compensation. Shortly after, the funeral car on which the Duke of Wellington's body

had been borne to St. Paul's for burial, was deposited in the crypt of St. Paul's, and was shown to visitors at a charge of sixpence each; this was assigned to the virgers when the annual payment of £400 was withdrawn. The whole arrangement was bad, as it lessened the control which the Dean and Chapter ought to have over the virgers, and also prevented their making such arrangements as they might think best for showing the Cathedral, as they were painfully reminded a few years later, when the Fenians were seeking to terrorise the Metropolis, and the Cathedral authorities were warned by the Home Office of the risks they would run, if they allowed the public to visit the various parts of the building with the freedom which had been previously accorded to them. Before this difficulty had arisen, the Dean and Chapter had happily made an arrangement by which the virgers should no longer have an interest in the fees charged for showing the Cathedral, and had substituted a liberal fixed salary in its place.

The question was then mooted amongst us whether it was not possible to have some services of a rather different character from those ordinarily given in the Cathedral, which might be of general

interest and might especially attract a number of the younger men engaged in business pursuits. We took counsel with several persons who had special knowledge of the men for whom we were anxious to do what we could. The universal recommendation was: if you wish to have the young men, you must exclude women, for there is a silly fear on the part of many young men of being chaffed by their companions; and if the service can be in any way represented as an ordinary religious service, the dread of being ridiculed will make your effort a failure. Accordingly we resolved to have a series of lectures of a semi-secular character, and the success with which our effort was crowned for some years was a pleasing surprise to all of us. We should have been contented if our audience had reached a hundred; at every lecture during the first year it amounted to quite a thousand. As the proposer of the plan, I had to undertake the first course of four lectures, when I took for my subject, "Are we better than our Fathers?" and endeavoured to draw as complete a comparison as I could between the existing state of things and what they were in the days of Charles II., when the Cathedral was built. Canon Liddon took the next course, and was followed by Canon Lightfoot, and then by

the Dean. The manuscript of our lectures was borrowed by the leading London papers and printed in them *in extenso;* and they were afterwards copied into many of the more important provincial papers. These lectures were continued for several years, but as the interest in them diminished after a time, they were discontinued. The first lecture was given on November 7, 1871.

The success of this attempt encouraged us to make another effort to come into friendly relations with the City young men. We requested them to write their names in a book at the Chapter House, in order that we might invite them to meet us at a soiree at the Chapter House. Many of them gratefully responded, and the members of the Chapter had pleasant conversation with them, after they had partaken of the usual light refreshments ordinarily provided on such occasions. These meetings were held for several years, and eventually ceased to be held, as the engagements of several members of the Chapter rendered it well-nigh impossible for them to be present except in their months of residence.[1]

[1] But the St. Paul's Lecture Society and the Amen Court Guild have developed this idea and become great educational and spiritual influences.

On Whitsunday, May 19, 1872, we had a choral celebration of Holy Communion in the Cathedral for the first time, and after Easter Day 1873 this had been continued every Sunday and Saints' day; it is certainly one of the most attractive and beautiful services in the Church of England. Previous to that time the Dean, if present, or the Canon in residence, always celebrated; subsequently the duty was undertaken by a Minor Canon, when the Dean or Canon in residence was not musical, which it rarely happened that he was. On the 1st January 1877 we commenced having a daily celebration of Holy Communion in the North-West Chapel, which has been continued uninterruptedly ever since. Besides this, at the request of some City young men, we had a late evening service daily, which was at first held in the crypt, and afterwards in the North-West Chapel. Some time later, at the request of some City people, we had a service in the same place in the middle of the day, which practically carried on all the year round a service that we had during Lent under the dome, at which there was a sermon.

During the great Exhibition of 1851, there had been an evening service on Sundays at St. Paul's, which was continued at intervals during three

months in the year. This was made part of the regular services, and with the help of a large voluntary choir is very popular. Beside these services there was introduced the rendering of oratorios by the Cathedral choir assisted by an orchestra, the voluntary Sunday evening choir and others. On the first Tuesday evening in Advent we had Spohr's "Last Judgment"; on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul at the afternoon service we had Mendelssohn's "St. Paul"; and on the Tuesday evening in Holy Week, Bach's "Passion Music." These services have been held for many years, and the crowds that attend them prove their popularity. With the improved services the attendance at the Cathedral greatly increased, so that alike on Sundays and week days the congregations are large. The first of the special services named above was held on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1873.

Besides our own services, we lend the Cathedral continually for the annual festivals of various religious bodies, when they find their own choirs, and their friends generally gather in large numbers. The only service which has been discontinued has been that of the Charity Children. For many years this formed a popular and interesting

spectacle. Galleries were constructed all round the dome in which many hundreds of children, who were being educated in the Ward and other schools of the City were placed and sang the service, and some well-known preacher was appointed to give a sermon. The arrangements for this service occupied about six weeks, during which time all the services in the Cathedral had to be discontinued, and the sound of axes and hammers resounded from morning to night. Such a cessation of the ordinary services seemed to the Chapter very objectionable, beside which after several thousand pounds had been expended in cleansing the walls and adorning the Cathedral, it was most objectionable to have the large amount of dirt introduced which was inseparable from the work of the carpenters and others. The Chapter therefore resolved that the service might be held for the future on the floor of the Cathedral, but that no more galleries should be erected. The promoters of the service objected to the change, and as they could not continue to have it in the manner in which they had been accustomed, they declined to have it at all; and so it was discontinued. There was a further benefit in this to the Cathedral, as up to that time all the wood used for the galleries had been stored in the crypt from

one festival to another, which made a large portion of the beautiful crypt look like a mere lumber room; the wood being no longer wanted was disposed of, and the crypt was repaved and made to assume its proper appearance.

In 1875 we found it necessary to deal with a matter that was causing confusion. By the Cathedral Act of 1842 it was ordered that in the future the number of Minor Canons at St. Paul's should be reduced from twelve to six as vacancies arose, and that the appointment should rest entirely in the hands of the Dean and Chapter instead of the Chapter having only the option of selecting one out of two candidates, presented to them by the College of Minor Canons; but there was no provision in the Act for dealing with the estates of individual Minor Canons when a separate endowment had been so provided. At St. Paul's each stall held by a Minor Canon was separately endowed, and as no one could deal with such endowment except the Minor Canon who held it, an impossible condition of things had been created. Our predecessors had ignored the Act, and had continued to appoint to vacant Minor Canonries in the manner that had been the practice before the Act was passed. This we felt to be unsatisfactory. It exposed us to the charge of not obeying the

law, which we were anxious to do. We therefore declined to fill up two vacant stalls belonging to the Minor Canons, and determined to obtain an Act of Parliament, without which nothing could be rightly done. This was happily effected; and for the future Minor Canonries were to be held upon conditions which promised to be more effective for the good of the Cathedral.

Another important change had been made with respect to the Assistant Vicars-Choral, of whom twelve had been appointed after the commutation of the Chapter estates. The musical services in many Cathedrals were notoriously injured to a serious extent in consequence of there being no provision for pensioning off the singing men when, through advancing years, their musical powers had begun to fail. We therefore made provision for securing a pension for the Assistant Vicars-Choral when they reached sixty years of age; they were to pay 5 per cent. of their incomes, and the Chapter was to provide the very considerable further sum that would be needed to secure them a pension of £60 a year. To which sum they were to be entitled if they had been members of the choir for thirty-five years, and there was to be a diminution of £2 for every year less than thirty-five that they have served in the choir.

This scheme has worked beneficially for many years, and is now established on a firm footing. At the same time we elaborated a scheme to encourage thrift amongst the staff employed for the repairs of the Cathedral and other work, by which they were encouraged to make provision for their old age. One special point at which we aimed was that each man should become the owner of the house in which he lived. This fund has quite answered its purpose, and already four of our employees own the houses in which they live.

Not to break through the narrative concerning what might be described as the ordinary work of the Cathedral, I have reserved the description of other things until that portion was concluded. I would now revert to what has been done for its decoration. At the time of the Thanksgiving Service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales, somewhat similar services were held all over the country. In many places offertories were gathered, and the sums collected were sent up as contributions towards the decorative fund of St. Paul's. This and other subscriptions collected in London reached an amount that justified a commencement being made. About two things to be done there was perfect unanimity of opinion. The one was

that the remaining spandrils in the dome should be filled with mosaics. Designs for them had been generously given by Mr. Stephens and Mr. Watts. These were duly enlarged, and the work was entrusted to Messrs. Salviati of Venice, who had executed the two that were already in position. The other alteration was the removal of the organ from under one of the arches on the north side of the choir, whither it had been placed a few years previously, having stood before that time on the screen at the west end of the choir. It was now placed against the north and south walls at the west end of the choir. Mr. Richmond, father of the artist to whom we have been so much indebted later on, strongly urged that the old screen should be restored to its place and the organ placed upon it; and was so much disturbed at this not being agreed to that he retired from the Committee.

Unanimity now seemed to be at an end. The Committee had selected Mr. Burgess to be their architect on the motion of Mr. Beresford Hope, but it was made up of such discordant elements that it soon became apparent that there was small chance of progress being made. Mr. Burgess expounded his views, some of which were very visionary, one of them especially so, and that

concerned the commencement he wished to make. He proposed that the whole of the interior should be veneered with different coloured marbles, and that we should begin with an aisle of the nave. The cost he estimated at half a million. Against this there was a natural outcry, and the more violent opponents, not content with rejecting the proposal in Committee, wrote irritating and unfair letters in the papers, especially in the *Times*, accusing those who were willing to adopt some of Mr. Burgess's proposals of a desire to mediævalise St. Paul's, and labouring somewhat unscrupulously to raise the *odium theologicum* against those who differed from them. The other members of the Committee being anxious that something should be done, and that the party cry should not destroy all chance of making some progress, then agreed on the proposal of those who had differed from them that an effort should be made to substitute something better for the pictures by Sir James Thornhill on the upper portion of the dome, and at the suggestion of Mr. Oldfield it was agreed that we should ask Sir Frederick Leighton and Mr. Poynter to give us designs from the Revelation of St. John that might be substituted for the designs from the life of St. Paul

now existing. After a time cartoons by these eminent men were sent in, but the Committee felt that they were not quite what was wanted, and so all hope of making further progress was practically abandoned for some years.

The first attempt to get free from the *impasse* into which we were plunged was a proposal that the Committee should undertake the work of beautifying the dome, whilst to the Dean and Chapter was entrusted the task of doing what they could to decorate the choir; certain gifts, amounting to a considerable sum, specially dedicated by their donors to work in the choir, being transferred to them for the purpose. The Chapter then deliberated about what should be done, and Mr. Burgess having died, it was necessary to begin by selecting an architect. Without any hesitation Mr. Bodley was chosen, and it was resolved to ask him to prepare a design for a reredos, as it was evident that with that a beginning must be made, as so much of what would afterwards have to be done would depend upon it. In due course a design was completed and presented to the Chapter; the plan was to some extent an alternative one; the central portion was in any case to be executed, but the sides of it might either be the wings as they now are, or

instead of them might be light iron work, such as that now placed on the north and south sides of the sanctuary. These plans were then submitted to the Decoration Committee, as it was thought desirable that all should be done that could be done to heal the breach that had so long existed amongst its members, and were approved by every member of it, except Mr. John Walter, the wings as they now are being especially approved by Mr. Fergusson, who was considered a great authority on such matters, and was the chief opponent of much that Mr. Burgess had proposed. After this no further delay was made, and Messrs. Brindley & Farmer were directed to proceed with the design that had been approved, under the superintendence of Mr. Bodley and his partner. The work of constructing the reredos was commenced in the Cathedral in August 1886, and was completed on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1888, on which day it was dedicated at the morning service. It took about a year and a half to complete, and the cost of it and the marble pavement in front of it was £30,000. Some Protestant zealots raised objections to it; the Court at the first instance overruled the objecjection; on an appeal, a different judgment was

given by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Justice Manisty, but their ruling was summarily rejected by the final Court of Appeal.

The decoration of the Cathedral was thus fairly commenced; but I have a little anticipated. On November 1, 1878, a new peal of twelve bells were rung for the first time. The Corporation of London gave the tenor bell, the others were given by the City Companies. Up to this time the Cathedral had only possessed two bells, so that however joyous the occasion it could not be marked by bell-ringing. The bells from the first were rung by the College Youths, a guild of bell-ringers. At one time there was an idea of training the servants of the Cathedral, so that they might be the ringers, but this was found to be impracticable. There was a special service of dedication in the Belfry when the bells were first rung, at which the Bishop of London, the Dean, and some members of the Chapter with the choir assisted.

In 1871 the Corporation invited the Chapter to throw open the west front of the Cathedral by removing the iron rails which surrounded the space, now marked by granite pillars and a causeway outside them, and offered to contribute a sufficient sum of money to cover the whole ex-

pense. This offer the Chapter accepted, and in 1879 the Corporation at their own request undertook the responsibility of keeping the churchyard around the cathedral in order as a garden. At the same time the iron fence round the churchyard was lowered, and on the south side was moved, so that a causeway might be constructed outside of it. In the same year three of the houses in Amen Court intended for the Minor Canons were completed: up to that time no provision for the residence of the Minor Canons near the Cathedral had been made since the Great Fire, 1666. The remaining houses for Minor Canons were completed in 1881. In 1882 the great bell of the Cathedral and the largest in England, weighing nearly 17 tons, was hung in the South-West Tower, and was named Great Paul; it was intended that this bell should have been hung with the other bells in the North-West Tower, and its size was determined by the circular opening in that Tower. But when the bell had been cast by Messrs. Taylor of Loughborough, and it had to be hung, it was found that the difficulty of placing it in the intended position, and the cost of doing so, would be very much in excess of what the surveyor had reckoned, so that it was thought desirable to hang it in

the other tower, which on many accounts is much better. The funds required were raised by subscription, to which the City Guilds liberally contributed.

Prebendary Randolph held the stall of Cantlowes for many years. The land with which it was endowed (part of Kentish Town) was let for building purposes, and had become very productive. For several years he sent me, as Treasurer of the Chapter, some hundreds of pounds annually, saying that at some time we would settle together how it could be best appropriated. I suggested to him that as he desired to do something for the stall which he had held for fifty years, and which would become disendowed at his death, it might be endowed with what would produce £100 a year, and that for the future it should be held by the Diocesan Inspector of Religious Knowledge, and that the income should be part of his salary; this was subsequently effected through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He also desired to do something for the benefit of the other prebendaries, and he arranged that to each of them should be paid two guineas when they preached on the Saints' Days appointed to them, and sufficient sums were invested under the charge of the Dean and Chapter to carry out

this object. Prebendary Randolph cordially approved both projects.

On Easter Eve, 1883, during the service at evensong, a man named Campion ran rapidly up the choir, sprang upon the Altar, and threw down the Cross and the vases with flowers before he could be overtaken by some gentlemen in the choir and one of the Canons,[1] who ran up as speedily as they could. He besought them not to pull him down from the Altar, and when he was being conducted downstairs into the crypt to be taken to prison by the police, he cried out as loudly as he could: "Protestants to the rescue." The next day the Lord Mayor fined him £5, which was paid by a gentleman who was understood to be an agent of the Protestant Working Men's Association, and it was said that this Association had prompted him to do what he did, and that several cheques were sent him as a reward for what he had done.

A second outrage of an even more offensive character was perpetrated in the North-West Chapel, as the Dean was celebrating at the eight o'clock service on Good Friday in 1885. A man named Beere rushed to the credence table and smashed the cruet with his umbrella;

[1] This was himself. See p. 260.

he then turned to the Altar and knocked over the paten and chalice; when he was seized and held down until he was handed over to the police, his friends piteously besought that he might be released, but it was felt that such outrages must be punished. The Lord Mayor sentenced him to a month's imprisonment.

In 1885 we had to alter the Chapter House so as to make it convenient for the residence of one of the Canons. This was done by adding another storey, and by making it possible completely to sever the inhabited part of the house from the business portion. The reason for this requirement was that until the Cathedral Act of 1842 became law, St. Paul's had only three Canons, the Dean being reckoned as the fourth. That Act provided an income for the two Archdeaconries, which were without endowment. The Archdeacon of London was to act as Canon, and to receive two-thirds of the income of a Residentiary Canonry (£1000), and the Archdeacon of Middlesex was to have the remaining third. Archdeacon Hale was Archdeacon of London at the time of the passing of the Act, and as he was also Master of the Charterhouse, which gave him an excellent residence within easy reach of the Cathedral, he did not want a

house at St. Paul's. He was succeeded as Archdeacon by Bishop Claughton, who did not wish to live in the city, so that no house was needed for him. When he died and Dr. Giffard succeeded him, a house was required. At first a serious effort was made to obtain one of the houses appertaining to St. Paul's School, as that school was being removed to Hammersmith; but this not being obtainable, we were constrained to enlarge the house. In 1897 an Act was passed securing the Archdeacon of London the same income that is enjoyed by the other Canons, but upon the conditions that he holds no other benefice.

On the 27th of February 1887 a most unaccustomed congregation assembled in the Cathedral. During the preceding week the Socialists wrote to Dr. Giffard, as Canon in residence, to say that they intended to come in force to St. Paul's on the following Sunday, as they had gone to Westminster Abbey on the preceding one. They asked that the Archbishop of Canterbury should preach to them, and if he were unable to do so, then the Bishop of London; Dr. Giffard wrote in reply that the Canon in residence always preached on Sunday afternoons, and that no alteration could be made. They

came in great force and filled every part of the Cathedral; beside which many hundreds, if not some thousands, were outside, the crowd extending a considerable distance down Ludgate Hill. One of their number came into the vestry and asked that a service should be given to those outside. Upon this I went down with one of the prebendaries, a Minor Canon, and four choristers to do what they desired. We had a short service, and then they proposed to march off, which they did, and we returned to our seats in the Cathedral. Dr. Giffard gave an admirable sermon, and when they found that they could not intimidate the clergy and the church-goers, they ceased to invade the churches as they had threatened to do, and as they had done on two or three preceding Sundays.

On January 21, 1890, a new ambulance station was opened under the steps at the west front of the Cathedral on the south side by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which has been found most useful in cases of accident and emergency. Dr. Freshfield was the promoter of it, and is supposed to have borne the cost of it. It has been continued ever since, and is still flourishing.

On September 16, 1890, Dr. Liddon was buried in the Cathedral crypt. He had been ill

for some months, and had not been able to take his residence in August. It was thought he was a little better, and he went under the care of one of his nieces to Weston-super-Mare, where he died very suddenly. The Dean was most anxious to take part in the service at his funeral, and read the prayer of Committal, but he was in a very weak health, and his voice was so low as to be almost, if not quite inaudible. Those who then saw him feared that his own end would soon be near, and so, unhappily, it was; for on the 9th December he died at Dover, whither he had gone for his health. He was buried at Whatley in Somersetshire, of which place he had been Vicar for many years before he was translated to St. Paul's. The first part of the Burial Service was said in the Cathedral; his body having been placed in the North-West Chapel on the previous evening. The funeral was on December 15th.

On Christmas Eve, Lord Salisbury offered me the Deanery, and I gladly accepted the offer, and was installed on the following 5th of February, the members of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury most kindly doing me the honour of adjourning to be present at my installation. It would be difficult to imagine a greater

contrast than that between my installation as Canon of St. Paul's and my installation as Dean.

When I was appointed Dean everything was ripe for making immediate progress with decorating the Cathedral. There was a considerable sum of money in hand that had been collected some years previously, and the subject had been much in our minds. During the last few years of the life of my honoured predecessor, he was unable from ill-health to take an active part in the affairs of the Cathedral. He had most generously begged me on more than one occasion to do whatever I felt was desirable for pressing this forward; but where another must bear the responsibility of what is done, one naturally shrinks from taking active measures, more especially when, as in this case, I felt that he possessed a much larger share of artistic knowledge than I did, so that I might make him responsible for work which he did not approve, and which, if he had been in good health, he would have objected to. After I became Dean, all this was changed. I became responsible, and if under my superintendence mistakes were made, the blame would rightly fall on me.

It fortunately happened that, within a few days after my being appointed Dean, a friend of Mr.

(now Sir) W. B. Richmond, suggested to me that he should be employed to give designs for mosaic work, with which the roof and spandrils in the choir and other parts of the Cathedral might be decorated. The Decoration Committee was called together and unanimously determined to place the important duties which he was willing to undertake in the hands of Mr. Richmond, and on the terms that he suggested; and in the following month (March) men were set to work to erect the necessary scaffolding and make the required preparations for carrying on what had been arranged.

On the 16th May 1891, the beautiful new High Altar constructed from a design of Messrs. Bodley & Garner, and given to the Cathedral by Mrs. Ambrose (Dr. Liddon's sister), was fixed in its place, and became the High Altar of the Cathedral. On 10th November in the same year, the Chapel behind the High Altar, to be called the Jesus Chapel, was dedicated by a celebration of Holy Communion in it. Until this year the peal of bells from the time of their being given to the Cathedral, had rung the old year out and the new year in; but a noisy crowd had gathered in the churchyard in the previous year and had scandalised the people by their noisy and indecent behaviour; it was therefore decided that the bells

should ring from nine till ten instead of at midnight; this change did not effect all the good it was hoped that it would do, as crowds continued yet to gather on the flags at the west end of the Cathedral, and to make a great noise until after midnight.

On Wednesday, 20th January 1892, a Memorial Service was held in the Cathedral in honour of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, who was being buried at Windsor at the same hour. This was the first service of the kind ever held in St. Paul's. The Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, representatives of several of the City Guilds, and a large congregation were present.

In the years 1892–1894 the eight niches in the drum of the dome were filled with statues of the four eastern and four western most illustrious doctors of the Church. This was done at the cost of the Dean and Chapter. On 16th May 1893, there was a special service held in the Cathedral at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury to counteract the attempt which was being made by the Government of the day to disestablish and disendow the Church in Wales. The Cathedral was crowded with a representative congregation, including a large number of Bishops and Clergymen, the Convocations of Canterbury and York, Church

wardens, and others from Wales; a most unusual number of persons communicated.

During the same year the lower windows in the Jesus Chapel were filled with stained glass by Mr. Kempe, and the monument to Dr. Liddon was placed there. There was also a new clock fixed in the South-West Tower. The old clock had for some time shown signs of being worn out; so that the Chapter felt it to be desirable to obtain a new one, for which they found the funds. There were also fixed in the Cathedral, in the south aisle, slabs with the names of all the Bishops of London that were ascertainable; and slabs in the north aisle with a list of all the Deans from the time of the Norman Conquest. It was thought impracticable to give the names of the chief rulers of the Cathedral before that date, as it was uncertain whether any of them were called Deans.

The stained glass window in the Consistory Court to the memory of Archdeacon Hessey was unveiled on April 21, 1894, and during May there were three trials of lighting the Cathedral by electricity. The present system of lighting is very insufficient and unsatisfactory, but the experiments made with the electric light were anything but what we wanted, and, coupled with the great expense which the change would involve, made it

very evident that things were not at present ripe for the adventure, but must be faced when a new system of lighting is introduced. In 1899 a generous American friend offered to bear the whole expense of lighting the Cathedral with electricity, and this has since been done.

On the 20th June 1897 there were services to mark a nation's joy at the completion of the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign. At the morning service (Sunday) the Prince and Princess of Wales and several other members of the Royal Family were present; immediately behind them were some members of both Houses of Parliament. The barristers and members of the various learned bodies in the Metropolis attended in large numbers. At the afternoon service the Lord Mayor and Corporation and the City Guilds were present. On the following Tuesday the Queen drove in state through the City, stopping in her carriage at the bottom of the western steps of the Cathedral whilst a short service was held. The gardens, or rather enclosed churchyard, was lent to the Corporation and some of the larger City Guilds, so that on it they might erect stands to seat the members of their respective bodies.

There are two matters, external to the Cathedral, which the Chapter took in hand that I ought to

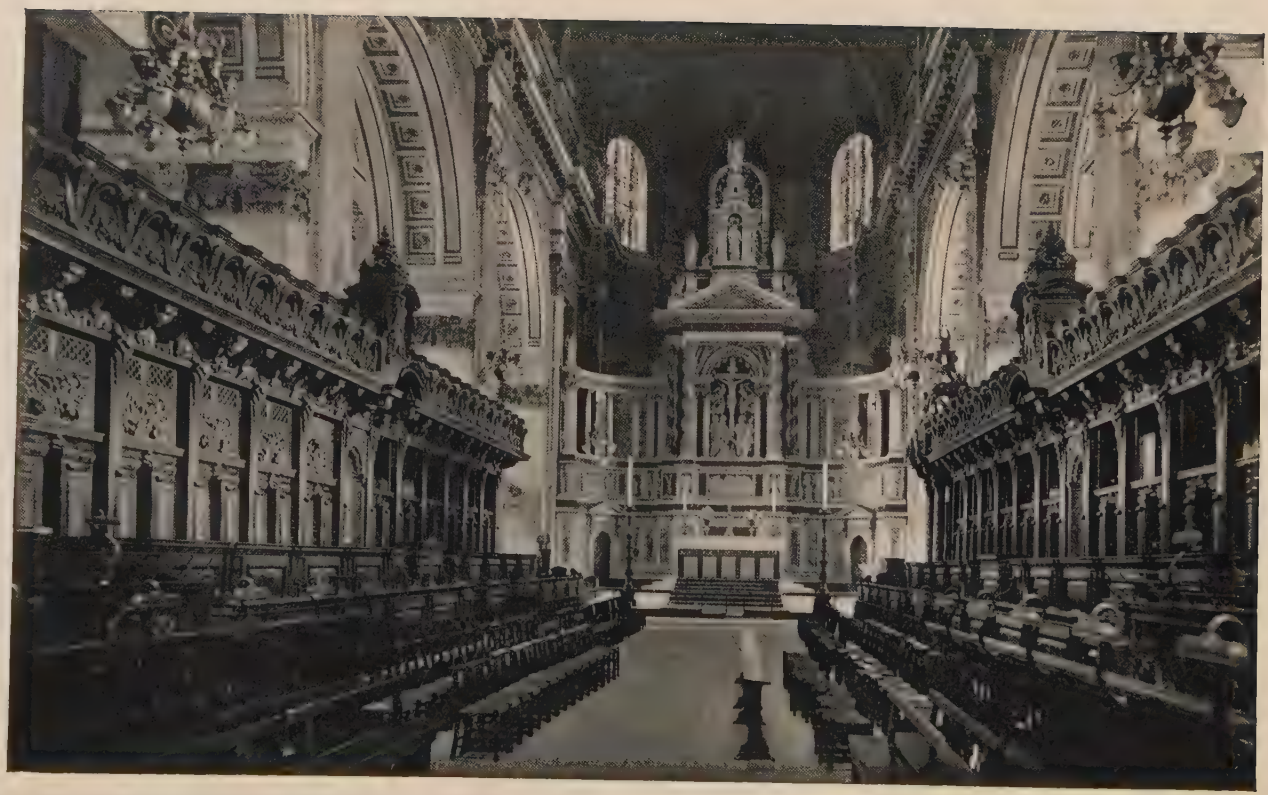
mention. The one is the management of an estate at Tillingham in the county of Essex, which was the only portion of their ancient endowments that was left to them by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at the commutation of their estates in 1873, the remainder of their income being provided by half-yearly cheques from the Commissioners. The Tillingham estate is believed to have been given by King Ethelbert for the maintenance of the fabric of the Cathedral on the completion of the first structure in 609. No doubt he gave the whole of the manor, a considerable portion of which has since been alienated, probably at the Reformation period. The remainder had been let on lease, a small annual rent being reserved and a considerable fine being levied every seven years on the addition of that period to the length of the lease. This most unprofitable manner of dealing with the estate had to be put an end to. The lease of Tillingham was during a part of the last century the property of Dr. Clarke, who was Dean of Winchester. By his will he provided that ten poor parishes should each receive £30 annually from the profits of the lease, and when the available income exceeded £300 a year, the surplus beyond that amount was to be given to the Chapter of St. Paul's and applied to the

sustentation of the fabric. But more concerning this need not be said, as it has been described in one of the earlier pages.

The other matter which they have taken in hand is an effort to increase the income of some of the poorest benefices in their gift. Owing to the agricultural depression from which the rural parts of the country, and especially the county of Essex, have suffered, parishes that once provided a modest independence for the clergyman in charge no longer do so, the clerical income having fallen from £300 to £250, which it was twenty-five years since, to less than £200 a year. In 1896 the Chapter resolved to have annual collections on one Sunday in the year. This they hoped would produce not less than £100, to which they resolved to add £100 from their own funds. By applying to Queen Anne's Bounty, these sums would be doubled, and so make an acceptable addition of about £12 to the income of the one benefice to which the money would be given. The material benefit to the benefices thus assisted is valuable, but beside this the effort has the advantage of proving to the incumbents of the poor livings that the Chapter heartily sympathise with them in the pecuniary difficulties in which they are placed, and are anxious to do what they can to help them.

I do not feel sure that this long record of the progress of the Cathedral in things mainly material, which I have been enabled to give owing in some measure to the assistance I have obtained from a diary kept by our good Dean's virger; but it occurred to me that the story of what has been done in this way shows how much the past had left to be done, and how little had been accomplished during the many generations which had intervened between the times of Sir Christopher Wren and the present. The record also shows how much may be done by steadily keeping in view what is really required, and making such progress in doing what is needed as circumstances permit. The mosaic work has now been steadily advancing during nearly eight years, and it will certainly require at least as many more years to complete what ought to be done; and whether those responsible for the Cathedral will be able to proceed must depend upon the liberality of those good people who appreciate the importance of adding to the beauty and completeness of the chief church in this great and wealthy city.

I have not said much about the services in the Cathedral. I trust that there is no need to do this, as the most satisfactory statements with



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL AT THE PRESENT TIME

respect to them would count for little. Long after I have passed away and been forgotten, I hope they will continue to be as good, if not better than they now are. I would only add that the Cathedral has become in a very marked and decided manner the centre of the religious life of the Metropolis. Every society of great influence delights to hold its festival gatherings within its walls, and few weeks pass during the year without one or more of such gatherings.

So the Dean ended his story of the work at St. Paul's, to which he devoted the last half of his long life. He worked with all his great strength and with all his large heart for the church he loved. And the story, as he has told it in an entire unconsciousness of how great was his own work, remains as a lesson for all those who would make our Cathedrals worthy of the Nation and the Church.

CHAPTER V

ROBERT GREGORY IN THE MEMORY OF HIS FRIENDS

So the aged Dean told the story of St. Paul's as he knew it. Those who see the Cathedral now, and compare it with the descriptions of it in 1868, may well be amazed at the difference between the "magnificent architectural monument, waiting, in dignified renown, for the discovery of its activities," and the centre of all its religious work which London knows to-day. In all that has been done Robert Gregory had his share, and a great share. Others were fine preachers, skilled musicians, wise leaders of men, saintly, inspiring, sagacious. He claimed no great place in the eyes of men, nor in the work which made the revived St. Paul's famous was he pre-eminent. Yet he was a good speaker, and a preacher to whom men listened attentively; a painstaking follower and supporter of those who made the music and the decorations of St. Paul's renowned in English art: a wise, honest, and true counsellor of all who sought to serve God, the Church, and the Nation. His own work at St. Paul's was to make all other work possible. He was the wise steward who made provision for the needs of all; and chiefly, he was concerned with the details of

Cathedral management. He made it his business to know everything that had to be done, and every one who had to do it. He recognised the importance of details in preparing the harmonious whole. He was a master of finance. But it was the religious side of the whole work which appealed to him above all and guided him in everything. And the measure of the success which came to the simple sincerity and directness of his own life is to be seen in the contrast between the service as, for example, Dr. Liddon first described it —the choir standing about and talking before service, and talking as they walked in procession, sitting during the service and talking during the prayers, sitting after the Consecration in the Eucharist—and the quiet solemnity of the whole choir to-day. Such an example is no less striking than that which every visitor sees, the stately magnificence of the whole building, its decoration, and its ceremonial.

The Dean's own account says little indeed about himself. What needs to be told, for any true picture of his character, may best be said by some of those who worked most closely with him. And first Mr. Somers Clarke (in a letter dated Cairo, Feb. 11, 1912) writes this of a man he "loved and venerated more than most":—

"Whilst Canon Gregory (I speak of him here long before he was Dean) was not without very strong Conservative instincts, he seemed always ready to listen to projects which many men would have opposed simply because the thing proposed had not been done in the Cathedral before. It

did not follow that he would favour the proposal. Between 1870 and 1880 I was much mixed up with sundry musical functions, more especially with Plain Song or Gregorian Music as people call it. It was nearly always Canon Gregory one had to see and consult. He was clearly the moving and controlling spirit in the Chapter. In fact, I cannot recall having had to do with any other member of the Chapter, except that now and then the formal permission of the Dean had to be obtained.

"It was proposed that players of certain wind instruments should walk in the procession. Canon Gregory was in no way a musical man. Opposition was anticipated to this innovation: the matter was, however, set before him, both on the practical and æsthetic side. He was convinced, recommended that they should be adopted, and the musical instruments in this connection are now a matter of course.

"The Cathedral was at that time lighted in a temporary fashion with gas standards, the effect being miserable. Permission was asked to hang temporary chandeliers in two lines from the choir roof. (I have had the pleasure of lighting the church, permanently, in this manner.) If the temporary lighting were admitted, it was to confess that the standards, as they existed, were inadequate. However, the possibilities of how the thing might be done had been worked out: I laid the advantages to be gained before Canon Gregory, and begged for the loan of steel wire from the Cathedral stores. Here again, when he saw the

advantages, the Canon was convinced and was sympathetic with the scheme.

"My recollections of his brother Canons in those days is that, as regards the Cathedral and its services, they preferred to follow the saying, 'quieta non movere.'

"We now jump to more recent times:—

"In 1897 I was appointed architect to the Dean and Chapter, and from that time forward I saw a great deal of the Dean.

"His straightforward and direct way of dealing with things was soon made evident.

"In returning with him one day from a meeting of a Committee, I asked how it was that a certain person had not been a member of that Committee.

"The Dean's answer was very characteristic: 'That gentleman never knows his own mind: he will agree first with one speaker, then with another. I would prefer to be contradicted ten times over and reasons given for it, rather than have to do with a man of that type. Let a man know his own mind and firmly support his views. I can get on with that man.'

"I remembered this statement for future use, and always found that the Dean was as good as his word. His devotion towards the Cathedral and his veneration for all that it meant was profound. He was not a man of taste, he did not care for music, he did not appreciate colour: and yet he most fully realised the value of these as offerings of worship, the offering to God of our best in whatever direction it might be.

"Soon after I entered into office, he said to me:

'Nothing must be done here but of the very best. If the money at our disposal will not now complete this thing or that, we must do a little, and hope for more to come; but we allow no cutting of the coat according to the cloth.'

"Another saying was, when some needful repairs were to be taken in hand: 'We must not hear any more about this work after it is finished, for thirty years. That is the way the Cathedral was built.' A statement absolutely true, for nearly everything done in the church at the time of its erection shows that the most scrupulous care was exercised, both in the execution and in the selection of materials.

"No doubt the people who did not understand him, or did not stand up to him, had their toes trodden on occasionally. This was often the result of the rapidity with which he grasped a situation. He was somewhat impatient of vacillation. To those who had a good case, knew what they wanted to lay before him, and stuck to their guns, it seemed to me, he was a most generous listener and good friend, and did not in the least object when one of his own schemes was overturned. He saw the reason and was convinced. To show his love of the Cathedral and his attention to details of the work connected with it, I may relate that when he was just eighty years of age he insisted on accompanying me to the 'Stone Gallery,' a height of some 200 feet above the church floor, to examine certain works just taken in hand, and so vigorous was he at that age that he accomplished the journey with very little difficulty.

"When technical questions arose, he had an amusing way of saying bluntly: 'You ought to know, that's what the Chapter pays you for.' I cannot say that the pay was excessive. On behalf of the Cathedral he was prepared to make very exacting bargains.

"His straightforward and rather blunt methods did not lend themselves to diplomacy. His way was to speak out, and that firmly and plainly.

"When some very fierce attacks were being made by certain people upon the decorations in progress at the Cathedral, the statements were necessarily the subject of consideration by the Decoration Committee. 'Who are these people?' said the Dean. 'I should much like to know what right they have to speak. How much have they subscribed?' It was pointed out that it was hardly politic to assume this attitude on the part of the Committee. The appeal for funds had been made to the public at large; the Cathedral was a great National Church: it was hardly possible to say that only subscribers ought speak out their views. The Dean unwillingly assented, and fired a parting shot to the effect that 'he was well convinced these objectors had subscribed little enough, if anything.'"

The reredos and the scheme of decoration are now part of the St. Paul's which Dean Gregory handed on to posterity. Yet it is too soon to anticipate the judgment of future ages. Dr. Liddon thought the former, when he judged its design in 1883, much happier than the latter. Many now would reverse this judgment. But

Dr. Gregory cordially accepted the view of the expert advisers as in both reredos and general scheme of decoration, and the completion of both will always be linked with his name.

When Dean Church died on December 9, 1890, no one could doubt who would be the fit successor. Lord Salisbury knew well what every one in London felt, and the offer of the Deanery was the recognition of the devotion which the oldest of the Canons had given to its service. When the new Dean accepted office he was about to begin his seventy-second year, but he was still young in strength, and he remained young till the end. A few typical letters may express what many felt.

"Addington Park, Croydon, *Christmas Day* 1890.

"My dear Canon Gregory,—Let me add one line of mine—I pray not of yours—to the thousands which are being written to express deep satisfaction that the devoted lover and servant of St. Paul's should succeed to the Deanery. God give you all health, strength, and blessing.

"Pray give best wishes of the season to Mrs. Gregory.—Yours sincerely,

"Edw. Cantuar."

Beside the letter from the Archbishop we may put this from Bishop Stubbs, who had been his brother Canon and warm friend, and had taken his advice at the critical moment of decision whether he should give up the scholar's life for the labours of the episcopate:—

"CUDDESDON, *December* 25, 1890.

"MY DEAR GREGORY,—My most grateful, and hopeful, and generally benedictious good wishes. Lord Salisbury generally does the best thing; here, I think, he has had no choice. I am truly delighted. I trust that you will live to be happy in it all. With best love all round and happy Christmases.—I am, yours ever,

"W. OXON."

And from across the Atlantic Bishop Doane wrote :—

"BISHOP'S HOUSE, ALBANY, *Dec.* 26, 1890.

"My dear old friend Gregóry,
I think I must turn Tory,
Because I am so very
Pleased with Mr. Sa-lis-bury,
Who went and whispered to the Queen,
There's only *one* man to be Dean,
As it is plainly to be seen.
And all men will agree, I ween,
And that's that staunch old Churchman Tory,
Alike with years and honours hoary,
The Very Reverend Dean Gregóry."

"Please forgive the impudence and the bad quantities, &c. &c., my dear friend. We went off into a hurrah yesterday when we heard the news. It was a zest to Christmas. And we all drank at dinner as the second toast (after the first one of 'absent friends,' which took in all of you), 'the Dean of St. Paul's.'"

So happy words and happy faces welcomed the Treasurer when he became Dean. The years from 1891 to 1911 were happy years—years, till near

the end, of ceaseless work for the Church; years blessed always by the affection and loyalty of those with whom he lived and those with whom he worked. His devoted wife was active as he was for the Church, and they taught the lesson thoroughly indeed to those who followed them. Her working party for the needs of poor mission churches, begun in Amen Court, continued for many years; and her quiet charm as hostess made the Deanery something of a home to those who came there from far and near. At the times of Lambeth Conference they specially delighted to secure American bishops and their wives as guests. Bishop Doane, whose lines are quoted above, was a guest with his wife in 1888 and 1897, and again (after her death) in 1908. Between him and the Dean a very close and warm friendship existed.

As the years went on his principles became "known and read of all men." Without in any way claiming a position which did not belong to him, he became a recognised leader in London of those who held definite opinions. Politically he remained all his life an unbending Tory; no one would have been so foolish as to call him an unintelligent one. He had very clear and definite ideas of the true policy for England at home and abroad, and of the limits of constitutional action in Church and State. He was a patriot in home politics, a Church Imperialist in the cause of Missions, ever near his heart. Nothing gave him greater or more constant pleasure than the letters from his son in Madagascar and Mauritius, a worker after his own heart. There was no doubt

at all about what he thought right for the Church and for the State. In secular matters one of his highest commendations of any of his friends was "that he could be trusted to vote straight." Any change in his own opinions or vote was to him unthinkable. Before a contested election in the City, when Mr. A. J. Balfour was standing, two ladies called to canvass him. His account to his family of the interview afterwards was: "Two ladies called to-day to ask me to vote for Mr. Balfour. I told them at once, quite certainly that of course I should." The ladies afterwards canvassed the masters of the choir school next door, one of whom said he had not yet decided as to his vote, to which one lady responded: "If you have any doubt you had better go and talk to that old Dean of yours; there is no doubt whatever in *his* mind."

In some ways parallel to his position in politics was his attitude towards certain questions that perturbed the Church. Thus the Dean's attitude towards Biblical criticism was thoroughly conservative. His nephew, the Dean of Chichester, says: "I was with him in his study when he was writing what I think proved to be the very last sermon he was ever destined to deliver, and I happened to cast my eye over some of the pages of the manuscript. It was intended for Advent Sunday, and he drew a graphic picture of the way in which we should all stand at last before the Judgment Seat of Christ, going on to describe how we should all be called upon to stand there one by one, and be examined and judged on all the minutest and

perhaps most forgotten actions of our lives. On my suggesting that this would be rather a long ceremony, and, considering the millions of millions of people who would have to be dealt with, could not be concluded within any calculable time, he said: 'Well, I dare say my theology is a little old-fashioned, and I will alter the sentence to please you; but that is what I have been taught to believe, and what I do believe.'" He would probably, if he had pursued the subject, have said that the objection to his view was based upon a human idea of time, and therefore irrelevant in regard to the Day when "time shall be no more" and to the action of Him to whom "a thousand years are as one day."

In December 1891 he joined with a number of well-known clergy, of varying opinions on other subjects (including Dr. Randall, Bishop of Reading, Dr. R. W. Randall, afterwards Dean of Chichester, Dr. Goulburn, sometime Dean of Norwich, Dr. Clavell Ingram, afterwards Dean of Peterborough, Mr. Ernald Lane, afterwards Dean of Rochester, Dr. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Butler, Dean of Lincoln, Dr. Spence, Dean of Gloucester, Dr. Claughton, sometime Bishop of Rochester and of St. Alban's, Bishop Thicknesse, Chancellor Espin, Archdeacon Denison, and Sir George Prevost), in issuing a declaration on the Truth of Holy Scripture, in which they stated their belief that the Holy Scriptures "are inspired by the Holy Ghost; that they are what they profess to be; that they mean what they say; and that they declare incontrovertibly

the actual historical truth in all records, both of past events and of the delivery of predictions to be thereafter fulfilled," and their belief in them "wholly independently of our own, or of any human, approval of the probability or possibility of their subject matter; and wholly independently of our own, or of any human and finite, comprehension thereof."

This deep reverence for Holy Scripture gave a special character to his sermons.

He was not at all a great preacher, and probably those sermons he preached in St. Paul's (where only he wrote them instead of preaching extempore as was his custom) were not his most successful ones. Yet he made a deep impression on his hearers. Only the other day a middle-aged man said he should never forget and could tell still the text and argument of a sermon Mr. Gregory preached at Richmond when he was twelve or thirteen; and a clergyman wrote there was an old woman of eighty in his village whom Mr. Gregory had prepared at Bisley for Confirmation, and who often quoted the text, and talked about some sermon of his, she had heard him preach at such a time. Until he was Dean he always took duty in a country parish for part of his holiday. The church was always filled to overflowing to hear him before he left. Sometimes the service had to be held in the churchyard. Quite simple and straight sermons he gave, mostly these on the Church Catechism, about which he always said people thought and knew too little. All he said came straight from his own heart and conscience, and what they were

may be understood from a saying of his—"If you once do a thing that is wrong, knowing it to be wrong, why *then where are you?*"

As one might expect from his alert and energetic mind, he was a ready as well as a very earnest preacher. Once when he was staying with his dear and life-long friend, John Sharp, Vicar of Horbury, the official preacher for a Festival Service failed, and Gregory consented, just before the service began, to take his place. Mr. Sharp wrote afterwards to tell him his sermon had made a great impression, and particularly that it should have been preached under such circumstances. One man had said: "No wonder he had gotten a fine place and a gran' wage if he was able to go off at a touch like that." The phrase was one that must have delighted him.

Such gifts as Robert Gregory's could not long be hid in London. His powers as a man of business, his capacity for very hard work, his character as an honest pious man, were soon widely recognised. He had soon become known not only as a devoted parish priest, but as a strenuous fighter for Church Education. He was also known, perhaps less accurately, as a defender of the "Ritualists." The controversy with Bishop Jackson about the Eastward position attracted everybody's attention. And, says Mr. R. S. Gregory, it had a startling effect on his fortunes, "and, as it turned out, a most happy one. In those days there was no suffragan at all in London, and one was to be appointed. A body of laymen, Richard Foster, Beresford Hope, Sir E. H. Currie, and others took

it up, and they went to the Bishop and offered him an endowment fund of £10,000 for a suffragan, if he would appoint my father first Bishop; the Bishop refused, saying that "Gregory would be dear at the price." Prebendary Ingram attempted to influence the Bishop too, but quite in vain, so Walsham How was appointed. Had he not refused, my father would never have been Dean. He told me all this whilst matters were in negotiation, before they were settled."

This was not the only attempt, it may be noted, to lure him away from St. Paul's. The Bishopric of Brechin, it is understood, might have been his at the vacancy of the see in 1876, and the Bishopric of Cape Town in 1874. Like Dr. Liddon, when the Bishopric of Edinburgh was offered to him, he saw that his work lay in London, and he was wedded to St. Paul's. And there his work year by year won fuller and more enthusiastic recognition.

Mr. R. S. Gregory gives a significant illustration of the impression which the work at St. Paul's had made by telling me of "a speech which Archbishop Tait made on the subject of Cathedrals, at which my father was present. In the course of that speech the Archbishop said there was only one Cathedral which had voluntarily, without external pressure, reformed itself, and that was St. Paul's; then, turning to my father, who was sitting just behind him, he said, 'And you have done it.'"

St. Paul's and all its interests was for more than fifty years his chief thought; and first of all in

his mind was the worship of God within its walls. How constantly he attended the services at the Cathedral is shown by the following record:—[1]

1897	523	1905	492
1898	529	1906	507
1899	356	1907	175
1900	502	1908	79
1901	454	1909	244
1902	370	1910	217
1903	483	1911[2]	21
1904	447		

His nephew, in the paper already so often quoted, tells a story which illustrates his perseverance in attendance till the end. He says: "Within a very short time of his death, when he was over ninety, he wanted to go as usual to evensong at the Cathedral, but when we got to the front door the rain was coming down in a perfect waterspout. 'You can't go across in that,' I said. 'Oh, yes, I can.' But it was so bad that I managed to dissuade him. He gave in with the remark, 'It won't hurt *me*, but I should be sorry to take *you* out in it, if you think you might catch cold.' The rain ceased as suddenly as it began, when he at once made for the Cathedral, and carried out his intention of attend-

[1] From Mr. Brown, the head virger, and *ostiarius* of the Convocation of Canterbury, who was first brought to St. Paul's by Dean Mansel.

[2] He resigned the Deanery on May 1. These figures apply only to the statutory services (*i.e.* morning and evening prayer in the Choir). For many years, in fact till he was made Dean, he and Mrs. Gregory attended early matins daily, out of his residence months, first in the N.W. and then in the Crypt Chapel. Neither do the official attendances take any account of the daily Celebrations. As Dean he always celebrated on Saints' Days; also on Thursdays; and was of course always present on Sundays, until his health failed.

ing the service, but I think that must have been one of the very few occasions on which he was a trifle late." To this he adds an illustrative anecdote: "When attending a service at the Cathedral, at which he was due, the late Archbishop Temple, when Bishop of London, arrived at two minutes past the hour, and found the service in which he was to take part already in full swing. When he got back into the vestry he remonstrated at their extra smartness; but the Dean only replied, 'When the clock strikes we begin.' And in telling the story he was fond of adding that Temple was never late again."

Such a record of attendance as the Dean's is but one of the many proofs that he was indeed at home at St. Paul's. He felt very keenly that the work of a Cathedral, rightly done, was enough to occupy any man. Archbishop Benson, in his book *The Cathedral*, had set out the need of such single-hearted devotion, and insisted that not only should the "universal old perpetual or 'major residence' of two-thirds of the year at least," be restored, but that the *majores personae*, Precentor, Chancellor, Sub-Dean, Treasurer, or the like, with the Archdeacon, should be the residentiaries, and charged with the definite duties of their stalls, as had indeed been the practice even in the eighteenth century, "the Chancellor lecturing from time to time, and the Precentor invariably ordering the service." This was the view also of Mr. Gregory. He knew that it was difficult, if not impossible, to obtain a consistent policy in regard to the functions of a Cathedral from those who were

only occasionally resident, and he knew that those who were compelled by their duties to reside and to attend certain services, were not likely to do more than was actually required of them if their superior officers were content to give a minimum of residence and worship. It took long to break down the tradition of very partial residence even at St. Paul's; and the absences of Dr. Liddon and Dr. Stubbs, while they were performing their duties as professors at Cambridge and Oxford, might indeed be regarded as having full authorisation from the canons of the Church. But long before Dr. Gregory ceased to be Dean, the primary obligation to the Cathedral Church was fully recognised, and the four Canons of St. Paul's became really resident, as such ministers of the Church should be. It was the Dean who set the example. He had, we have seen,[1] given up his benefice as soon as it was possible to do so; and he resided at the Deanery every year all the year round, except for a holiday in August.

It was, no doubt, the feeling which grew from this, that, though born in the Midlands, he was a thorough Londoner, which made him so popular, and so influential in the City. He was in the heart of London a leader in all good work; but the Cathedral always held the first place.

Thus, he used to dine a great deal with the City Companies, and enjoyed them, and had many warm friends among them. Owing to his doing this, and to his friendships there, several of the Companies gave scholarships to the Cathedral choir-boys to

[1] P. 166.

go on to other schools when their voices broke. There is one a year for which they compete, and it has been invaluable. "It was really entirely owing to *him* and his influence with them," says one who knows. Many boys have thus got scholarships, and been helped by the St. Paul's body (he did it largely himself) to go on to the University, and have been ordained. He always took a deep interest in the boys and their careers, and rejoiced when they took Holy Orders. He impressed on them, as well as everybody else about the Cathedral, the guiding axiom of his own time there. "Whatever happens, the Cathedral *must* come first."

It was truly said at the time of his death that it was a privilege to see him with the children of St. Paul's, at the annual prize-giving at the Choir School. "During the latest period of his life he was seemingly at his best and happiest when telling the children of the choir how great was their privilege to belong to so noble a foundation. Somehow, the great gap between their ages and his seemed to disappear, and the words of kindly counsel he gave them came not as with the authority of the Dean but as though the speaker had only been a little longer than they in the same delightful service."

As an illustration of the care he took about all matters connected with the Cathedral, one might recall the pains he bestowed on the distribution of tickets for the various special services for which St. Paul's during the years he was there became famous. They were not to him means of gratify-

ing personal friends, but public privileges to be distributed with care. He took special care for the interests of busy people, clerks, nurses, type-writers, colonists, visitors from a great distance, persons who were kept at work till the last moment.

It was his invariable practice to inspect personally anything he was called on to decide about, and the invaluable Clerk of the Works, Mr. Harding, never brought any detail about the fabric of the Cathedral to his attention without his saying, "Let's go and see it." He used to do the same at Tillingham when he went down: every farm and building, &c., about which any question arose, he went to see himself. He often said: "Though you may know nothing about it, if you go yourself to see it, you always find your attention directed to any weak spot by the increased, and often semi-apologetic explanations, and then it is always worth while to listen and find out all you can about it, and bear that particular spot in mind."

Perhaps one may add to this another reminiscence of his daughter's—she says: "Though he was so earnestly anxious that everything connected with the worship in St. Paul's should be done in the most dignified and reverent way, he was himself curiously unobservant of details, and once at an Ordination in the Cathedral, during the laying on of hands on the heads of the priests, he distracted Bishop Creighton by putting his wrong hand forward, thus spoiling the effect of the semicircle. The Bishop bore it for a few minutes, and then whispered to his Chaplain: '*Will* some one go and turn the Dean round?'"

This mention of Bishop Creighton brings the other Bishops of London to mind.

From the time of Bishop Jackson (who came, as all good men did, to understand him as he knew him better) his relations with the successive Bishops of London were cordial, and something more. Bishop Temple and he had a high regard for each other; though they differed sometimes, their rugged natures were essentially akin. When the Bishop wished to live in the city to be near the Cathedral, he did his best to further the plan, and tried hard to find a suitable house. Greatly did he admire Bishop Creighton, and their relations were of the happiest. If the Dean expressed a wish for the recognition of some good work in the diocese by the distinction of a prebendal stall in the Cathedral, the Bishop, with something more than the traditional courtesy which made such a request of the Dean almost a right, was cordial in his acceptance of the suggestion. A letter from him which shows the Bishop's appreciation of the Dean may be inserted here:—

"FULHAM PALACE, *Sept.* 30, '99.

"MY DEAR DEAN,—I was very sorry on my return home to get your letter, and learn that you had not been well. I cannot wonder that at your age you are advised to abate somewhat of the marvellous activity which you have been enabled to carry on through so many years. It is with very great regret that I accept your resignation of the two offices you hold in connection with the educational work in the Dio-

cese. The Diocesan Board is so connected with yourself that I do not know how it carries on without you. But I do not wish to trouble you with regrets. I can only express the thankfulness which everyone feels for the work you have done in the past, and I know that your counsel will be available in times of emergency.

"I sincerely hope that you will return to London refreshed and restored, and that greater quietness and care may secure the needful relief.—Yours affectionately, M. LONDON."

He deeply mourned Dr. Creighton, who had in a remarkable degree won his confidence and esteem.

The Bishop who succeeded him had been a friend of some years in the Chapter: to him, in his Episcopal office, the old man delighted to show the respect which is never more beautiful than when it is paid by the aged to the young. The elevation of the junior Canon to the Bishopric gave the Dean sincere gratification, and his kindly visits to him in later years always gave the greatest pleasure. Frequently, when in failing health, if it was sought to dissuade him from going to the Cathedral at any time when the Bishop would be present, he would say: "Oh yes, I *must* go; it's more respectful to the Bishop."

So the life went on in quiet beneficence and devotion. The familiar figure grew bent, the alert swift step became slow. Still the friends surrounded him with affection, new ones as devoted as the old. How greatly he leaned on

one of those in later years is known to all who know and love St. Paul's; nor can they wonder that when this companionship and support was withdrawn he felt that the time had come for himself to end his association with the Cathedral they had served together. But if this friendship was one on which he had specially relied, hardly less close were the links which bound him to the other Canons, to Canon Newbolt, the friend of many years, and to the Archbishop of York, very dear indeed among the friends of his old age.

Friends of earlier years have been mentioned here and there in the record; but there are many more who might well be named. They were nearly all persons with whom he had a common interest or common work. If one is selected, it is certainly in no disparagement to the rest. I tell of it as it is told to me.

"Mr. Berdmore Compton, some time Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, was a friend of later years. The Dean said himself that his own experience was quite contrary to the statement that no one ever made a great friend over sixty—as one of the greatest friendships of his life was made when he was over seventy. To the Dean's very great pleasure, Bishop Temple made Mr. Compton Prebendary of St. Paul's at his request, and it was a delightful sight to see these two old men, both with snow-white hair, within six months in age of each other, going off to tea together at the Deanery after evensong, at least once a week, perfectly happy together; or walking together round the garden of Mr. Compton's house, Atherstone, deep in

conversation. Dr. Gregory's last visit outside his own family was to Atherstone, in 1907, and when he was so desperately ill in the following spring, Mr. Berdmore Compton used to come to the Deanery every day himself for two months to ask how he was. He was a man of great charm of manner and appearance, and much more of a scholar than Robert Gregory, and though even, if possible, more of a Conservative, he persuaded his brother Tory to take a more favourable view of the Revised Version than he was at all inclined to, for he had regarded it as a needless innovation; but after he had been convinced how much more of the original meaning was conveyed by it, he read it every day. Mr. Compton used to say so delightfully: 'People always say: "You may count on me as long as I can agree with you." I don't care about friends if they can only stick to you when you are right; anyone can do that. I want my friends to stick to me when I am in the wrong.' His death, in January 1909, was a great loss to the Dean." Such is the memory that remains of their friendship.

His long life in the City, and keen interest in it, made him very widely known and as deeply respected. Men of all sorts and conditions came to him and asked his advice, and (what is not so common) acted on it. His son remembers a remarkable instance. Once, when he was a Canon, a City merchant came to see him and said: "Gregory, I have just had a fortune of about £70,000 left me; I don't want it; what shall I do with it?" and then he and his friend arranged how that large sum should be given away.

He was no less trusted by statesmen in office, whom he is known to have advised as to important appointments: no less but more, if possible, by clergy, and by no means those only of his own "school of thought." A friend to whom he was much attached, the late Archbishop of Cape Town, consecrated in 1874, came to him, on the day of the Consecration itself, in great distress because he could not ascertain whether he was required to take the oath of canonical obedience to Canterbury. He was determined to stop the service rather than do so, and not be consecrated. For him, too, there was wise counsel.

As the years went on, the old friends were joined or succeeded, by new ones in St. Paul's as elsewhere. Reminiscences from those who served with him and under him would be gladly given, and every one would be of value. Something has been seen to suggest how close was his friendship with Church, and Liddon, and Stubbs, and Lightfoot. With the Canons of later days there came also a touch of deep respect, which grew into reverence. From the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of York, Canon Newbolt, down to Canon Alexander, the last new member of the Chapter while he was Dean, testimonies of affection could be drawn freely; but what they would have said may be summed up in what was written by Dr. H. S. Holland, who during his last years was always at his right hand to spare him labour. In *The Commonwealth* of September 1911, he wrote the memorial of the Dean's long service, which by his kindness is now reprinted here:—

"The venerable figure, bowed under the white hair, moving with helping hands to and fro through the Cathedral to which he had given his life and love, had won for Robert Gregory a romantic interest in these later years. All London watched him pass in and out: and he laid hold of the public imagination: and men saw in him the whole story of the long years upgathered and embodied. There he goes, with his white hair—the man who had seen Byron's funeral pass through Nottingham to Newark: who remembered the fly-sheets telling of the battle of Navarino: who had rowed out in a boat to meet the first steamer coming back over the Atlantic from America. How often he had ridden up by coach from Liverpool to London! And, then, he had heard Newman's last sermon in Littlemore on the 'Parting of Friends,' and remembered the loud sobbing of Pusey and Tom Morris, while the voice of the preacher went on unmoved, until, in silence, he shook off his hood and left it on the rail, as he stepped down from the pulpit.

"So he could recall: and, then, had he not for forty years and more been the strong stay of St. Paul's, seeing it through out of its piteous shame and neglect into its present crowded glory? Was it not he who had given himself night and day to the work of liberating it, and cleansing it, and clearing it, and decorating it, and filling it full with the splendour of worship? Everyone who helped him had passed away; but still he is there, faithful to his charge, part of the very building itself, punctual at its prayers, clinging to his place

in the choir, following the Lessons with absorbed expectant attention as if he could not guess what was coming, untiring in his devotion to the interests of the great Church, resolutely lying on his left side in bed (in spite of warnings against the risk by the doctors) that he might better hear at night the clock and bells of St. Paul's.

"So he gained a unique hold over the heart of London: until, at his death, there almost seemed a danger of the world forgetting the others who had shared his task. Liddon and Church were mentioned as if they were merely accidental contributors to the good result. No one would have repudiated such a claim to pre-eminence more earnestly and vehemently than the late Dean himself. He knew, with perfectly honest and straightforward intelligence, what he could do, and what he had to leave to others. And he was ready always to trust others to do their own part, which was not his. Thus there were departments of the Cathedral life which he was delighted to see fulfilled by those who were specially fitted for them. Liddon's wonderful gifts he thoroughly appreciated. And not only did Liddon, by his preaching, fill dome and transept and choir, but, also, in the reorganisation of the Worship, and of the use to which the Cathedral was put, his skill and knowledge and enthusiasm were invaluable. He set the key in which things were to be done. He determined the tone and quality and order of all the Liturgical development. He fixed the limits of what could be attempted. He imagined the general scheme. He brought to the Cathedral

the sense of beauty, passion, and romance. He made it a place of fascination, and gave it a spiritual ideal.

"Again, it was Liddon who brought up Stainer from Oxford, to whom we owe the entire setting of our worship in the spiritual key and temper which is our great inheritance to-day. He built up the choir itself, and the voluntary organisations that undertakes the Evening and Special Services. Liddon, again, planted Barff at the Choir School, by whose steady resolution the School became the nursery of the pure and high tradition which is the inner secret of all the beauty of Worship offered at the central Shrine.

"And, then, behind, at our centre, was the fine and masterful presence of Dean Church. He it was who gave to the Cathedral intellectual distinction and value. The world of men could not think cheaply of us, so long as he was our Chief. There was not a man of worth in English Society and Literature who did not appreciate Richard Church. He was recognised as the 'finest flower of the Anglican tradition.' He stood in the first rank. He won, for all this revival of ours, the respect in which it was held. He was a pledge of its worth to the people who count. And more and more he became the secret central spiritual authority to which men sought in hours of doubt. He sat as a moral arbiter: his verdict became our common law: he set the standard: he determined values. We were felt to possess, at our heart, a power of wisdom, of courage, of unworldly intuition, of counsel, and ghostly strength. Nothing could be

done in St. Paul's that had not in view the fine and delicate scales in which the Dean would put it to the test. And, at anxious hours of emergency, we were trusted and tolerated because of the honour of our Dean. I do not think it is possible to exaggerate the significance of his personal presence, as our Head, even though its influence was often felt rather than heard, and though its actual working was as much in secret as was possible. He was a vital asset through all the years of revival, which steadily grew in importance and in effect. We had a conscience in our midst which we were compelled to regard. No one could afford to live in the company of Richard Church, and not be careful how to answer for his conduct. No one could be near him without being aware of a heightened worth in living. So through love, and through the fear that belongs to love, he made St. Paul's what it was. He was unique. There was no one like him.

"The dear old man who has now gone from the scene of his labours would wish all this to be recalled. He himself, by his strenuous activity, made their action possible. He had seen that the whole possibility rested on Finance, and that the first necessity of all lay in a bargain with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He had contrived his financial scheme, and had whirled Dean Mansel into incompetent activity, before Church or Liddon had appeared on the scene.

"So Gregory was effectively instrumental in providing the opportunities which others could use: and in securing the resources which were available

for others to apply. His driving powers were immense, in this way. It was never better seen than in the work of decorating the Cathedral. There was a pleasant irony, which he himself enjoyed, in the fact that he should have been called to supervise a matter so entirely outside his natural bent and skill. It was a foreign subject to him. It was great fun to see his wonder why we could not make up our minds the moment that the artist's proposals were plainly put before us. 'Now, then,' he would cry impatiently, 'I suppose you are ready to vote; what shall it be?' We, poor things, were struggling to estimate those tentative, elusive, intangible impressions, which a work of art evokes. We wanted to go aside for half an hour alone, to collect our dim, inarticulate, hesitating judgment: to suffer the impressions to sink. Voting on the spot was horrible to us. But, after all, he was right. We were hopelessly inadequate, for all our pains. And the best thing that we could do was to do what he did, *i.e.*, trust our chosen artist, and go ahead. So it was done: and he got it along. We made many mistakes, but not more than we should have made anyhow. And there is a great power in a total outsider, who sees what has got to be done and does it. William Richmond liked him better than he liked any of us, and would prefer him greatly to any of us who made faint claims to be heard on artistic matters.

"The old Dean was very proud indeed of the decorations, and thoroughly satisfied. It was certainly a wonderful thing to have been allowed

to bring about the decoration of the entire choir and aisles with all their appointments. It was to him, too, that the Cathedral owes the electric lighting, which was given through the generosity of his good friend, Mr. Pierpont Morgan. No wonder that he loved to the last to wander in and out of the Cathedral, which bore the impress of his devotion to it from floor to ceiling. His work looked back at him and spoke to him, as he saw the crowds pour in and out, and heard the organ-music thunder round the walls, and knew that the great Church was now made for ever a house for the worship and the glory of God. And, as he wandered in and out, with his work behind him, a strange gentleness stole over his old vehement energy: and a quiet fell upon him, and a passive calm, such as we had never seen in the rough strenuous days of labour. Very gently he resigned his task to others. He had been Treasurer throughout, and loved it, and revelled in its figures and books. When I succeeded to the office, I thought that he would never be able to keep his hands off the old job—especially as he had a most kindly contempt, I felt sure, for my financial capacities. Yet never once did he try to put in a finger: never once did he touch it again: and all that I did was accepted with cordial acquiescence, and with ready joy in things going right.

"It was an immense surprise to us—this power of total surrender in one who could not, in younger days, set limits to his urgent activities. So old age brought to him new gifts. He was changed and mellowed. Peace and tenderness and resignation

did their quiet and beautiful work upon him, until the long day ended. He had done: he could go home. The discipline of life had been attained. After that he was absorbed in the interest of the unseen world. He would not attend to those who talked to him. 'I am very much interested,' he explained, while he seemed to be speaking to old friends, and said, 'Quite so! Quite so!' several times. Even then the strong body almost refused to die. Only, after a long unconsciousness, it consented to the death that had been so often postponed.

"He has left a memory which gathered in force and richness to the very end. The Cathedral that he served so faithfully will never forget him."

To this Dr. Holland has now added some further notes of reminiscence: "I think that the wonder that I felt in the Dean, in his later years, was the standing proof that he offered of the entirely superficial character of all outward environment in affecting character. Just think of the change that he had seen in his life come over the face of the earth! Never had there been such an entire revolution within the memory of man. Up to his youth, the pace of the world, for instance, had been determined, from the very beginning, by the pace of the horse. No news could travel faster than a horse could go, nor could any communications be made faster than a horse could carry them. We all know that when Sir Robert Peel posted home from Rome, as hard as he could go, at the summons of his Sovereign, to undertake a Cabinet, he travelled from Rome to London in just the same

time as Julius Cæsar would have done it. I always think that the funniest illustration of the old state of things is given by the Flight to Varennes. Here is an enormous berlin, which appears to mean a carriage about the size of the dome of St. Paul's, which gets some six hours' start from Paris, and is at once entirely lost. All the resources of civilisation cannot discover where it is. Paris is powerless; news is sought in all directions, and quite in vain; the enormous thing lumbers on, and positively gets within twelve miles of the frontier, when it is at last discovered and arrested by the frantic gallop of Drouet all through the night. Now, conceive passing from that kind of situation to the picture of Dr. Crippen, the murderer, himself flying across the Atlantic at 20 knots an hour, and all America and Europe knowing, through Marconi wires, of every motion that he is making; and detectives aware of the very minute at which to wait for him at the far side; while he alone, the unhappy man, is ignorant of what everybody knows about him. We have learnt to live by wire and telephone, and the news of the whole round earth is on our breakfast-table with the sausages every morning; and railways and steam have made all places one; and the whole of humanity's work has been speeded up to the level of this miraculous change, and all life has had to be re-estimated in view of the pace at which it could be done. Yet there sat the old Dean, the very same man that he was when none of these things were, in all that mattered in character and in life. An immense change had swept over him

and yet left him wholly untouched. That which he was to you as a friend and a brother, was exactly the man to whom all these external matters did not matter in the least. He took them all and worked with them all easily enough, and his great zeal for practical efficiency made him keen to use every opportunity to the full, so he did not hold back in the past and refuse to take advantage of the new. Far from it; he was thoroughly in it, as far as the machinery of life went, and enjoyed all the advantages that it brought him. I think there were only two subjects in which the warfare of his middle life had served to imprison him in a past situation. He had fought the School Board and its whole type of education, and he had disliked and resisted the formation of the London County Council, and he never got away quite from the temper of these earlier positions. Nothing could induce him to accept and understand the educational policy which had become quite inevitable, of working with the School Board and accepting their function. He would have held us back in a disastrous policy of intransigence. Here he was stuck, and he could not get on. And, again, it was difficult to get him to see how great a fact the London County Council had become, and all the vital things that it was doing for the life of London. But on most matters he was very ready to see what was up, and to fall in with all the opportunities given him.

"In the management of the Cathedral he relied on the perfect security of order. Everything must be in time, and exactly to the right time, and there

must be no lapses and irregularities. I remember once his standing on the west steps, and saying rather solemnly to me, 'Remember, Holland, when I am gone, that the secret of a place like this lies in punctuality.' And it is wonderful what punctuality means in the life of a Cathedral. Everybody knew that as the clock struck, there would be the Dean ready. And the sense of this braces the temper of a whole establishment; it gives a sense of importance even to little things; they are felt to be worth doing, and worth doing well, if the Dean takes care to be in time for them. The moment punctuality declines, there is a fall of moral temperature all round, and the touch of neglect and indifference creeps over things. All this was very characteristic of him. He could not understand anything coming in the way of an engagement in Cathedral. He had a way of telling the choirmen that nothing but death could be accepted as an excuse for being late. This may have been worked rather hardly in his mid-career when he was in his full vigour and control, but he remembered the old miseries of negligence too vividly not to be very suspicious of any sign of slackness.

"The vigour with which he would act in his prime was amazing. It used to fall rather violently on our poor architect of those days, who had a wavering manner and a tendency to indecision. It certainly was too much for the unhappy man who overthrew the Chalice at the Good Friday Celebration in St. Dunstan's Chapel. By the time I reached the man, there was no

portion of his person which was not already occupied by somebody; and Gregory was seated firmly about his head, holding his face against the floor, and tightening his clutch whenever the poor man found space enough to get his mouth clear, and to whisper 'Bless you my brothers.' This was the parallel to the famous scene when he shoved his pocket-handkerchief down the throat of the other madman at Evensong one Easter Eve; but that scene I did not witness. The pace at which Gregory got off his surplice while running to catch the man was what especially struck awe in the beholders. He never ceased, to the end, to rejoice in the memory of his swift and decisive action as a Curate at Bisley, when a Church Restoration was on, and a certain farmer would not resign his pew, only to find out, one bright morning, that Gregory had cut it down in the night. He associated this incident ever after with the verse in the Psalms for the 21st Evening, which recorded how 'Then stood up Phinees and prayed; and so the plague ceased.'[1] The connection, I gathered, lay in the character of the prayer of Phinehas. It took the form, it may be remembered, of running two people through with one stroke of his spear. This 'effectual and fervent' form of prayer commended itself to the Dean, who felt that he too had prayed when he took an axe and whacked at the offending pew. Anyhow,

[1] These words were actually running in his head, he said, all the time that his work of pious destruction was going forward. The Dean's own account, however (above, pp. 38–39), does not quite bear out Dr. Holland's description.

on every 21st Evening you might have heard a low inward chuckle, at the memory of the consternation at Bisley, when it woke up in the morning and beheld the ruins.

"He was overwhelmed with gratitude to God for having put him in the very post in all the earth which he most desired. He was very humble over this, but very happy. Everything in the place appealed to him, and brought out all the best that was in him. He was indeed no expert in Ritual, nor ever cared much about the art of Worship, but he knew that Worship in the Cathedral ought to be carried through at the highest level of perfection which it was in our power to reach, and he was glad enough to use the skill of others so as to ensure this result. He loved the fact that the beauty of Worship was there; but very often his honest old parochial heart instinctively looked for results that were inconsistent with the stately services of a Cathedral, and he never, for instance, could help rejoicing, as a parish priest rejoices, over the enormous number of communicants on High Days, even though that broke up the unity of the main Celebration.

"I have spoken of the hold that Bisley had upon his memories. He never ceased to look upon himself as Tom Keble's man. He told me once that in all critical decisions he tried to act in the way that Tom Keble would have approved. There lay his moral standard. This loyalty of his gave me a deeper impression of the little Bisley group than one gains from the records of the time. They belonged to a strict and rigid school. They were

a little doubtful even of John Keble himself, who was liable to be touched by the influence of the brilliant and perilous Newman. They were very fierce against Romanisers, and cut dead all who went over. They were tough Tories. But then they had the deep serious sincerity which belonged to the whole moment, and this it was which left its profound impress on Gregory. It was real religion which he got hold of at Bisley. He knew its inner secrets. He did not often speak of such things. He was busy with practical affairs, and bustling politics, and all the pre-occupations of a managing man. But it would be a surprise to those who saw only in him the ardent ecclesiastical politician to feel the warmth and the tenderness that came into his voice as he preached, or as he celebrated. There was felt at once to be something deeper at work than he, at first sight, suggested. He spoke as one who had been inside the mystery, and had known by living experience the secret of Jesus."

After this record from one who was so great a support to his later years there is little indeed to add. Time went on and took toll of those who had loved him best. On March 19, 1904, the devoted wife who had shared the last years of work and happiness, passed to her rest. Still he worked on, cared for by his children and helped by the generous assistance of those about him. New friends were made chiefly through the Cathedral, such as Mr. Pierpont Morgan, whose generosity in providing St. Paul's with electric light delighted him.

Here is a letter which illustrates the grateful affection with which he was regarded by the Canons:—

"*December* 21*st*, 1908.

"My dear Chief,—I hope that the clang of the Bells told you of the joy of the old Dome, and of all those who nestle under its shelter, at the triumph of to-day. You have given forty years to the service of the Dome: the Western Tower might well shake all over with the bursting news. It is a wonderful fact. And you have ever given your very best, and you have thought, and cared, and striven, and prayed for the great Cathedral night and day through all the long years.

"And you love it at the close more than ever. And you have put the force and the hope into its work which looked so impossible when you crept in by the glimmer of the solitary candle. And now we have only to keep going what you have started, and all will be well.

"God bless you for it, and may He give you comfort and patience in the latter days, as you sit in your place and give thanks for all the great mercies which these forty years have brought to you! I wish I could have touched your hand to-day.

"But heart touches heart: that is enough."

The affection that many felt for him was often gathered up in kind words from those who could give them as representative of the whole country. So Queen Victoria, and King Edward, and many

members of the Royal family often showed in gracious kindness; and on his last birthday he was deeply touched (as soon as his humility had grasped what was the meaning of the signature "George May" to an indistinctly written telegram) by a message from the King and Queen.

His interests outside London gradually diminished, but he had the closest affection and friendship with his nephew, Julius Hannah, on whose unfailing care and attention he leant very greatly in his later years, and took a deep interest in all he was trying to do for his Cathedral at Chichester.

As the new century went on, his venerable figure, leaning on his daughter's arm, or helped over the crossing by a kindly policeman, became one of the famous sights of London, and his face, now pale and set in a wealth of long white hair seemed—so a Roman Catholic said to the writer of these words—to set the whole tone to the Cathedral services, and teach all present to pray.

His great strength again and again brought him back (when, as all who were with him knew, he would not so have chosen) from the edge of the grave. He longed to die as still the servant of St. Paul's, but he came to see that this was not to be, and on February 18, 1911, he wrote to the Prime Minister, a letter, to which the answer, so happily and generously recording his great service to the nation, is here printed by Mr. Asquith's permission.

"10 Downing Street, *February* 22, 1911.

"My dear Mr. Dean,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th inst., in

which you intimate your intention of resigning the Deanery of St. Paul's as from May 1st next. Great as the sacrifice must be for you to sever your official connection with a Cathedral whose interests you have served with such conspicuous and unparalleled success, I quite realise the wisdom of your decision in the circumstances, and I am convinced that no man has ever relinquished a high office with more certainty than yourself that he has deserved and won the respect and gratitude of all who have at heart not only the interests of St. Paul's, but of the whole Church of England. I can speak as to this with some personal knowledge, as I was familiar with the services at St. Paul's before the improvements of which you were the author. I note your desire to continue living in the Deanery after your retirement, and I consider it eminently natural and proper, and in selecting your successor I shall stipulate that he accepts this condition. I trust that in your retirement you may be blessed with the enjoyment of good health.—Believe me, yours very faithfully, H. H. Asquith."

And so the long story comes to an ending. One of those friends most closely associated with him at St. Paul's wrote to him on the day of his resignation words which most happily expressed the meaning of those years of work: "My heart goes out to you to-day, and to the Cathedral, as I think of the long and wonderful chapter in the Story of the Dome that is being closed. As your dear white head is withdrawn from the familiar

stall, the end has come to what after all can never end. No, indeed, the work of the life of the last forty years in St. Paul's is too strong to pass away. You have given to them a force that will endure against all change. This will be your undying comfort. A standard has been fixed of what St. Paul's should mean to the world, and from that standard it can never afford to drop. It will not fail you now. It will prove its gratitude to you by enduring when you are gone from it."

The last months went quickly. On May 1, 1911, his resignation took effect. "It was arranged," said *The Times*, "that his continued occupation of the official residence should be reckoned as a considerable part of the pension to which he was so amply entitled, with the result that he continued for some time to attend service in the choir as of old. His steps went a little more heavily and he sat in a different stall, but there was no other change that an ordinary observer could note." But he well knew that the end was near. He lived to extend a warm welcome to his successor. Again let his nephew speak: "Beautiful, indeed, was his eventide, and the testimony of his closing years. When you asked him how he was, the constant answer came, 'Pretty well for a worn-out, old man.' And worn-out at last he undoubtedly was, and very tired, but very patient, too. No complaint ever passed his lips. For years he was ready and longing to go, but he waited with the most touching patience till at last the summons came."

In July he began more visibly to fail. A short

Photo: Barratt

DEAN GREGORY ON HIS NINETIETH BIRTHDAY

illness ended on August 2, 1911, when in the early morning he passed peacefully away. On Saturday, August 5, he was buried in his own Cathedral church.

The love that he had won from the poor all those years at Lambeth followed him to the end. It was one of the working men who had known him so long who wrote down this incident on the day of his funeral: "I was leaving St. Paul's at 12 noon on Saturday 5th, when an incident took place I shall never forget. A mob of holiday-makers came in, one of whom was a minister, who asked the employees of St. Paul's (8 or 9 putting the place in order under the dome) what had just taken place. One of them answered with deep respect that they were sorry to say they had just buried the Dean, one of the dearest old chaps that ever lived, and his mates said Amen! The minister said, 'What, Gregory! I knew him;' and with that he got his flock together upon that spot under the dome, took a little book from his pocket, and they had a little prayer together."

Next day, Canon Newbolt, preaching from the pulpit at St. Paul's, said words which may well sum up the story of his life:—

"Robert Gregory has been honoured to-day by a chorus of generous approbation from those writers in the Press, who, seeing his work and knowing his worth, have agreed to honour a life of genuine consistency, which never turned aside to avoid blame, nor trimmed to catch the popular breeze; the life of one who lived, as has been said of a great man before him, 'in an atmosphere

where the reproaches of men could not reach, and the praises of men might not presume to follow.'

"To pursue this task to-day were easy, but for the reasons which I have given would be superfluous. The world has recognised his commanding qualities, and has not been slow to declare its appreciation; and there are other reasons still which seem to forbid a panegyric. He himself, if he were here, would push away with the genuine disgust of an honest man anything which might savour of flattery; and further, in the pulpit of a church, the preacher must always feel that he is speaking before an audience which is not of this world. A great cloud of witnesses surrounds us now, reaching far beyond the walls of this Cathedral. There they sit tier upon tier, in a vanishing glory of distance, 'those who did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies; those who were honoured in their generation, and who were the glory of their times; those who have left a name behind them, and those who have no memorial.'

"After all, it is for us to do the work, but the crown of that work belongs to God.

"It was said by his friends to one who was passing away after an active life of fruitful benevolence, 'You are going now to receive the reward for all the good deeds you have done.' But he corrected them, and said, 'I am going to receive the mercy of Almighty God.' Let us leave our dear brother unencumbered by our feeble praises. Let us ask God to accept and perfect all that he

has tried to do for His honour and glory, to pardon what has been done amiss, to correct what is imperfect, and to strengthen what yet remains to be done, and to grant him his true dismissal and his full release from the trials and troubles of this sinful world, in the land where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth, in the many mansions of the Father's home."

APPENDIX

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS BY DR. GREGORY

"A Plea on behalf of Small Parishes." London, 1849.

"What is the Spiritual Condition of our Metropolis, and Who is Responsible?" Sermon, 1860.

"Do our National Schools provide Education for all whom they ought to Train?" 1865.

"Praise." Sermon, 1865.

"The Difficulties and the Organisation of a Poor Metropolitan Parish." Two lectures, 1866.

"Sermons on the Poorer Classes of London, preached before the University of Oxford." 1869.

[R. G. and H. P. L.] "The Purchas Judgment. Letter to the Bishop of London by the two Senior Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral." (Two editions.) 1871.

"Are we Better than our Fathers?" Four lectures, 1872.

"The Church's Need of More Workers." Sermon, 1876.

"The Position of the Priest ordered by the Rubrics in the Communion Service, interpreted by themselves." 1876.

"The Need of More Clergymen to make Church Work more Efficient." Sermon, 1884.

"Elementary Education in England." 1895.

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